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CHARLES ROBINSON

CHARLES ROBINSON

THE FIRST FREE-STATE GOVERNOR OF KANSAS

BY

FRANK W. BLACKMAR, PH. D.,

Professor of Sociology and Economics in the University of Kansas. Author of "Spanish Institutions in the Southwest;" "The Story of Human Progress;" "Economics;" "The History of Higher Education in Kansas," etc.

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1900

Fallen at length, the Nestor of our time,
 Founder and savior of our infant State,
 The lofty life to Freedom dedicate,—
The champion ever mailed to challenge crime,
And make the people's rustic cause sublime.
 Peer of the commonwealth he did create,
 His strength hath known no weakness, no abate,
From this strange stillness back to youth's rich prime.
And is he fallen? Nay; a wiser thought
 Follows the spirit as it slow withdrew,
Leaving the fields on which he grandly fought.
 The writhing wrongs his prowess overthrew,
And lo! amidst the zenith stars inwrought,
 We speed the newest orb'd. Hail and Adieu.

HENRY M. GREENE.

“There was Charles Robinson, whom you chose your leader and Governor. He was to you in that day what Moses was to the Israelites. When the action of the Government was adverse to your interests; when Reeder and Geary were removed; when Atchison, the acting Vice-President, left his seat in the Senate to lead the border ruffians and to drive you out with fire and sword,—it was Robinson more than any other man who held the people firm in their allegiance to the United States. He had to fight not only his enemy, but his friends. He was the representative of law and order, and so under Providence the public sentiment of the country was kept in your favor.”

[AMOS A. LAWRENCE, in letter to Old Settlers' Association, August 16th, 1877.]

INTRODUCTION.

BIOGRAPHY is, after all, quite essential to a true knowledge of the history of a people, and, moreover, one of the best of teachers, for by it we come close to the lives of those who make history. It gives an insight and a living touch quite unknown, to the details of plain historical records. The historian who tells the story of national progress, even though he describes causes and results, is forced to treat men as things tossed upon the waves of public opinion or borne on by the current of events. The biographer deals with an individual life and character from which spring the motives that rule the community or make the destiny of nations. He sets the object of his description in the midst of the phenomena of history, and describes him in his relations to the environments. In the warm heart of the great man beats the hope of the nation; in his fertile brain dwells the thought that rules, and from his lips fall the words of wisdom that command. So biography teaches history by example. It gives, not a panorama of moving society, but the intensified thought, feeling and action of a single individual, as the center of events. Though it is not general history, it touches it at many points; and the greater the man, at more points will he touch human society. The biography of a great man will need a strong historical background as its setting, and if properly written will vitalize every part of history with which it comes in contact.

While events and opportunities to a considerable extent make the man, a great nature will be a reflection of his times. How our national life is revealed in the lives of such men as Washington, Franklin, Adams, Jefferson, and Hamilton, or Marshall, Clay, Webster, and Calhoun, or in Lincoln, Sumner, Grant, and Seward. Yet again how the world of national thought and feeling in such men as Channing, Emerson, Longfellow, and Lowell. How many men who have lived in the past century would it be necessary to enumerate, whose combined thoughts represent or come in contact with all that was worth thinking or remembering in our national life? And while biography is not history, nor can it take the place of history, it brings us essentially and indispensably near the life of a state or nation. Stirring times and great epochs sometimes can best be understood from one or more great minds as centers of observation.

Kansas history seems at present to be in the biographical period. There appears to be a determination on the part of many to sum up the lives and characters of the prominent actors in the great struggle to make Kansas free, and of those who were influential in building the commonwealth. And it is well to pause and find out truly what manner of men engaged in the great struggle, and what they stand for in the process of state-building, before proceeding to unravel the tangled web of Kansas history. If each actor in the great drama could be carefully weighed and measured, and all of his achievements accurately recorded, the historian would have an excellent foundation for his future work as he attempts to write the true history of Kansas. The strong individuality

displayed in the early struggle, the fierce controversies that have raged since, as men have appeared in the light of struggling for position, render it highly necessary that the achievements of each one, prominent in the struggle, shall be carefully defined before the historical horizon is cleared of clouds of error. The chief dangers of writing the biographies of men of Kansas are, of the personal bias of the writer, of ambition, and of hero-worship. Bring into line all that has been written of Kansas men, and very few if any writings will escape the imprecation of at least one of the above defects. Many have innocently fallen victims to current errors, others to their own sympathies which fell as a curtain over the intelligence and obscured the discriminating power of the narrator. Others have been blinded by worshipping at the shrine of their heroes. Too long gazing at their idols dimmed their vision and rendered inaccurate their delineation. Others, possessed of vaulting ambition to be greatest among their peers, have unconsciously enlarged upon the events with which their lives were inseparably connected. Yet under it all flows a current of truth whose unmistakable voice is heard more clearly as time renders us more familiar with events and men.

In preparing this brief biographical sketch,—for it is little more,—the writer has endeavored to tell a plain unvarnished story of the life and character of a man whose career in Massachusetts, California and Kansas is worth recording, not only because of its questions of personal interest, its lessons of individual life, and on account of its relation to society, but especially because of its relation to the foundation of the State. How difficult the task, to

extract from the great mass of information at hand that which gives the real life-picture of the man; how delicate the task, to give a truthful picture of all that he did, of what he was, and to give a well-proportioned representation of his public services. And in the presentation the writer has endeavored to abide faithfully by the rigid and unyielding truth as it appears to him after a careful weighing of all historical evidence at his command. Care has been taken not to write into the life that which did not exist, a common failing of all biography and a difficulty not easily overcome. Although, perhaps, there is less danger here than elsewhere, because there was no ether of romance enveloping Robinson's austere life, and no strange mystery about his going and coming among his fellows. Nor was there any transcendental genius bordering on insanity that rendered his life and nature difficult to understand. He was a plain man of the people, with a lofty bearing of character which revealed itself to those who came in contact with his daily life. He followed closely the line of conscientious duty, without fear and regardless of consequences. His life is not a fit subject for the romancer or the hero-worshipper, except as the man who does his duty fearlessly with great consequences to the community and the state is worthy the admiration of his fellow-citizens and the affection of those whom he personally befriended. He who writes best and most truthfully about Robinson will tell the plain story of his life without embellishment, for the life will then speak for itself, its real nature and its lessons of wisdom.

If it appears that undue importance is given to Robinson when mentioned in connection with other men, it

must be remembered that Robinson is the subject of this sketch, and that the services of others are not ignored if not eulogized. Perhaps Robinson, Lane, and Brown, were the most prominent historical characters in the early struggle for freedom in Kansas, but what numbers of other faithful ones whose unswerving faithfulness to duty, unflinching courage, and acute sufferings made freedom possible! Call the roll of real heroes of Kansas, and the angel of justice will respond for hundreds who sleep in their graves and for those living who are too modest to sing their own praises! How absurd it is, then, in the consideration of the great numbers in the different types, classes, parties, who in different ways rendered efficient service to Kansas, to hold up to the youth of the land that one man saved Kansas. Yet each should be zealous in telling the truth of the valiant deeds of friends and foes, that the uncompromising truth of history may be revealed. In reference to this matter, the saying of Governor Robinson in an address to the students of the University of Kansas is worthy of consideration. He said: "Who saved Kansas? Not one man, nor any group of men claiming to be leaders. It was the rank and file of the common citizens who saved the State to freedom. It was the union of the people in a common cause that saved the State."

How true is this, for, notwithstanding all of the struggle and confusion, it was the majority at the ballot-box that saved the State. Not that there were not other potent influences in bringing this about, for there were many. There were times, too, when leaders were necessary,—and they were not wanting. But here as elsewhere there were

wise and unwise leaders; there were those who by their folly led on toward destruction and defeat, as well as those who led toward safety and victory. In writing this biography the author has no desire or object to make Robinson a greater man than he was, for had he not the elements of greatness manifest in his life, no effort of pen could bolster up the fragments of a broken character. The only thing to be done is to draw a truthful picture of all that he was and all that he did, and to emphasize his public services. The writer has endeavored to do faithfully, with the sole object of recording history truthfully. If he fails in the attempt to do this, it would be better that the book were not written. It is not expected to escape the criticism of that small group of hero-worshippers who have other idols than Robinson, some of whom seem determined to write history after their own manner of thinking, instead of recording how it all came about. I refer to those who have sought to detract from the life of some in order to build up others.

Men differ so much in motive, in character, and in life in general; the nature of their services varies and the conditions under which they struggle are so dissimilar, that comparisons are dangerous. It is quite impossible to determine whether one deed is greater than another, until the services rendered by each can be measured. Who then can weigh and measure greatness, or how can motive or duty or character be estimated? Or who can measure services and strike a balance between two important deeds? There is no divisible essence of duty, nor any ultimate analysis of greatness. From an individual standpoint he who does his duty has served his generation well; he is

good and brave even though the consequences of his service are small. Would that society might learn to recognize faithful service as the true element of greatness and as real heroism. Looking over the history of Kansas and considering the long list of names enrolled as founders and builders of the State, some it is true have had more potent influences than others, not only because of individual power and genius, but also on account of opportunity. But not all of the glory of the founding and building of the commonwealth may be absorbed by the leaders, whether self-constituted, or whether so made by the law of gravity of character or the force of circumstances. There have been many builders of the commonwealth,—great, all of them, in the results of their work, for it took the coöperative work of them all to achieve the success in building a state and making it habitable and desirable for free men. Let us therefore banish invidious comparisons from our minds and from the printed page, and endeavor to make the life of each stand alone upon what he actually did.

There has been a tendency for each one who passed through the early struggle to record his personal views of affairs, and to relate the story of events as he saw them. This is of exceedingly great value to those who would understand Kansas history. Every one, so far as possible, should do this for the sake of the final truth. There are those still among us who have not told all they know of the early history of Kansas, but it is hoped that they will do so as a duty to the present and to future generations. The great historical movements are tolerably well defined, but local events and the details of movements which are only determined by the corroborate testimony of eye-wit-

nesses should be carefully recorded. Those who are writing monographs and fragments of history should be careful to go back of the returns of hearsay to the sources of history, and by a careful comparison of statements sift the false from the true and rest their argument on the impregnable foundations of truth, the only basis of history. Perhaps then some historian will appear, unbiased in judgment, and keen in discrimination, who will eliminate the personal element from history, consider faithfully and impartially all of the fragments, each taken at its true value, and weave the whole mass into one presentable continuous narrative. This cannot be well done in one volume.

Let us emphasize the fact that this is but a brief biographical sketch, written to bring to the minds of all who read it the important phases of the life and character of Governor Robinson, the first and only "Free-State" Governor, and the first chief executive of the State of Kansas. It disclaims to be, from any standpoint, the history of the times of Governor Robinson. Yet from the life of Robinson history radiates in every direction, and therefore his biography cannot be written without touching history at many points. But great care has been taken to make all historical statements exact so far as used, and as complete as the subject and circumstances would admit. The events with which the subject of the biography was connected have been made prominent, while others have been omitted or passed over lightly as a necessity. While many facts of history are recited, historical narrative is not undertaken. Even the biography is abridged, and only a larger volume would present the life of Robinson in its

fullness. It ought to contain the details of his work in connection with the Emigrant Aid Company; a careful review of his life as Governor and as legislator of the State; a careful account of his California adventure; a more extended account of his services to the Free-State cause; a review of his political beliefs and opinions; his political relations to other prominent men of the State; his interest in social affairs; his writings; and last, but not léast, his services to the cause of education.

FRANK W. BLACKMAR.

UNIVERSITY OF KANSAS, November, 1900.

CHARLES ROBINSON,

THE FIRST FREE-STATE GOVERNOR OF KANSAS.

EARLY LIFE.

To be well born is a fortunate circumstance in the foundation of a great character. It is a vantage-ground in a life-struggle where the fittest, who are the best, survive. To be well educated to meet the conditions of one's own generation is an essential means for the completion of character-building.

Charles Robinson was blessed with both of these conditions. He was of old New England blood of pure stream, that lost none of its vigor in its onward flowing. His father, Jonathan Robinson, was a farmer and zealous anti-slavery man of decided religious views, whose ancestry traced back to the John Robinson of Plymouth Rock fame. The social atmosphere of New England in early days was a character-builder. The frugal home life, with its discipline, its religious fervor, and sweet companionship, ever appealing to self-sacrifice, furnished an excellent training. Perhaps the home life in New England, with its frugality, discipline, earnestness, and close sympathy, was the best quality of the education of the times. It has been the saving quality of the New England life, and as well of that larger life which has moved westward and filled the valleys and plains and enveloped the mountains of the continent. Perennial and sweet, the hallowed influence

of the homes of the olden time comes to us in retrospective fancy, ever prominent in the philosophy of nation-building!

His mother's name was Huldah Woodward. Of these parents were born ten children, six boys and four girls, to whom they desired to give as good an education as the country afforded. The mother of the family looked carefully after the Sunday-school lesson, and every Saturday night the flock of children gathered around the table to learn all the lesson could teach of morals and religion. There the mother, with the great old Bible in her lap, was filled with the blessed spirit of the Christ, as she pointed out the beauties of its vivid style and the moral and religious teachings fitted for daily life.

Charles Robinson was a strong character in the old New England home; he was a pleasant companion, a lover of music and books, and a lover of man and nature. His philosophy began early, as he roamed alone over the fields, through the forests, or by the brook-side, or followed the instruction of the country schools of his time. Born at the quiet town of Hardwick, Mass., on July 21, 1818, when school privileges and books were more rare than at present, he had ample opportunity for thought, which, to the observing, thinking man, is education. At the age of seventeen it was necessary for him to strike out for himself, and from that time he bore at least a large part of the expenses of his education. Academies and seminaries were the greatest blessings of New England youth in those days. They made Amherst, Yale, Harvard, Williams and Dartmouth possible to thousands of young men. He entered Hadley Academy, where he remained a year,

after which he entered Amherst Academy, and there he again exercised the privilege of self-support. The authorities gave him the privilege of making new desks and seats for the academy; therefore in the basement of the building he established a workshop, where he wrought at carpentry to pay for his tuition, and where at intervals he pondered over the principles of philosophy.

It was but a step from Amherst Academy to Amherst College, although he remained but a year at the academy. After remaining a year and a half at the college his eyesight gave out, and he found it necessary to walk forty miles to Keene, N. H., to apply to Dr. Amos Twitchell for aid. Always on the lookout for opportunities, as every active youth must be, he decided to accept an offer to study medicine under Dr. Twitchell. Possibly it would have been better for him to remain at the academy, and subsequently at the college to complete his academic course, before entering upon his medical studies. However, he did what many another person has done, who, lacking the proper direction of others, sought his own course in his own way.

After remaining with Dr. Twitchell six months, he attended medical lectures at Pittsfield, Mass. Doctor Childs, who afterwards became Lieutenant-Governor of Massachusetts, was then president of the institute. After the course of lectures was completed at Pittsfield he studied for a time with Dr. Isaac Gridley, at Amherst, and subsequently attended lectures at Woodstock, Vt. Dr. Rush Palmer, much celebrated in his day as an eminent physician and lecturer, was at the head of the Woodstock institution. Robinson finally returned to Doctor Gridley,

and remained with him until his medical education was completed. His educational career would be considered rather an erratic course for a medical student of the present day, but it served to give a full medical education of his time. His peripatetic education, as far as possible, furnished what the youth of to-day finds concentrated in the modern medical college with hospital attached. It appears, at least, that his education was considered thorough and sufficient for practice in his time.

In 1843 Dr. Robinson commenced the practice of medicine at Belchertown, Mass., a town of the old New England type, covering a large area, being fourteen miles long and ten miles wide. Dr. Robinson's practice was very large, and, as the town was situated in the hill district of Hampshire county, his numerous visits required excessive labor. Once settled in Belchertown, Dr. Robinson took his place as an active citizen of the town. He was enthusiastic, not only in considering the ailments of the people, but also in advocating the practice of observing proper rules of health. He would not join the medical society, because he did not wish to be bound by its cast-iron rules, and because he thought he could learn something from the practitioner of any school.

On Thanksgiving Day, 1843, he was married to Miss Sarah Adams, of West Brookfield, and after a brief trip to Boston he returned to his duties in Belchertown. Doctor Robinson was interested in schools, and served on school committees. He frequently attended the Sunday-school teachers' meeting; he was a constant worker for temperance. When the Perfectionists, under John W. Noyes, were preaching a new salvation from sin, they met

with severe opposition; law-and-order meetings were called, and an antagonistic spirit aroused. While Robinson did not adhere to the teachings of Noyes, his sympathies were with him and his followers, and he was glad when they were relieved from persecution.

Doctor Robinson threw his whole zeal and energy into his work, which proved to be a great strain upon his not over-rugged constitution. Consequently, in the spring of 1845 he went to Springfield, Mass., and there opened a hospital for practice. In conducting this hospital he was associated with Dr. J. G. Holland, a well-read physician, and subsequently widely known on account of his literary career. He was a native of Belchertown, and was a former room-mate of Robinson at Pittsfield, where the two became well acquainted.

Doctor Robinson found it impossible to confine his work to hospital practice, and so his visits soon extended far and wide in Springfield and surrounding towns within a radius of twenty miles. While at Springfield there came upon him a great disaster which was lasting in its effects, and which seems to have changed the entire course of his life. On the 17th of January, 1846, his wife passed from this earth. Failing in health on account of his severe practice, and broken in spirit by his severe loss, he was induced to leave Springfield and go to Fitchburg, where his brother Cyrus was located. This he did in the spring of 1846. But he did not escape work by the change, for he was again soon worn out by the excessive duties of his profession. While he was casting about what to do for his health, thoughts of a trip to California were prominent in his mind.

CALIFORNIA ADVENTURES.

IN this peculiar way Charles Robinson became interested in the emigration to California. The whole country was aroused in 1848 by the discovery in California of this new El Dorado. Men everywhere caught the fever, and were hurrying westward in the vain endeavor to be first in locating their mining claims. Not only the venturesome West but the staid East was stirred with unbounded enthusiasm, and thousands from every part of the Union took up the long journey overland to the Pacific slope, or, by boat, passed by way of the isthmus on to San Francisco.

In the winter of 1849 a party composed of men of all classes and professions was formed in and around Boston, for the purpose of making the journey overland. This company was organized on a military basis, and selected Charles Robinson as the physician of the company, upon whom devolved the responsibility of the care of the sick. This small party left Boston on the 19th of March, 1849, and, passing by railroad and canal to Pittsburg, thence by steamer to Cincinnati and St. Louis, finally reached Kansas City, or what was then known as Westport Landing. The whole journey was without striking event, except the usual experiences of a company traveling through a new country, which brings a new interest from day to day—the sights and scenes of the winding route through forests, hills, valleys, and plains. Soon after the party left St. Louis the cholera broke out among the ship's company,

and the physician found an arduous task before him to stay the disease, not so well known in those days as at present. This he did quite effectually, there and also at Westport Landing.

The company finally arrived at Sacramento. Here were exciting conditions, which were made to test Doctor Robinson's character. The great contest between the squatters and the large landholders was in progress at Sacramento, and Doctor Robinson took a vigorous interest in the matter. As Doctor Cordley says, in the "History of Lawrence":

"In 1849 he went to California with the gold-seekers, and was a prominent actor in the stirring scenes which characterized the early history of that State. In those turbulent times he had been severely wounded, and had been put under arrest and kept in prison for several months; but he and his associates finally won the day, and California was finally saved from the rule of the thieves. He was just the man wanted for the emergency. He was cool of counsel and brave of heart, and knew the conditions he had to meet."

The difficulty in California existed in the fact that the old Spanish grants of land, which were to be guaranteed, according to the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, of February 2, 1848, had secured all land titles and property of every kind to the citizens within the Territory. The grants made by the government of Mexico prior to the accession of land by the United States were to be secured by the latter government. Two difficulties arose: (1) just before the cession, and immediately after, a large number of land-grabbers sought to obtain titles to land in various

parts of California; (2) many titles granted prior to the cession were imperfect on account of indefinite location of boundaries.

The trouble at Sacramento was precipitated, first, by the fact that the people who came in from the East were accustomed to free land, and did not understand why they did not have squatters' rights on these large land grants as well as on other territories of the United States; and then, in addition, the disposition of the land agents to grab everything in sight, and to exclude persons from the territory, enraged the squatters. Furthermore, the particular land title of Sutter, which was claimed to cover the territory in and around Sacramento, virtually did not extend that far.

Sutter was a man from Switzerland, who had settled in 1837 on the Sacramento river at the junction of the American. Here he built a fort and established a colony, his possessions reaching many miles far and wide, up and down the Sacramento, American and Feather rivers. He lived like a feudal lord of the olden times on his domains, served by his many helpers, and with an army drilled for defense. In 1841 he received from the Mexican Government a grant of eleven square leagues of land. In 1847 sixty houses clustered around the fort, and six mills and one tannery were located in the immediate vicinity. Thousands of bushels of wheat were raised annually in the fertile valleys, and thousands of cattle, mules, horses and sheep grazed in the valleys and on the surrounding hills. The white population at this time numbered 289 souls, while a large number of Indians, half-breeds and Hawaiians were located near.

In 1846 Sutter laid out the town of Suttersville, three miles below the fort, on the Sacramento river. Subsequently the town of Sacramento was laid out between Suttersville and the fort. So far as rights accruing from possession were concerned, Sutter was owner of this vast tract of land. So far as the intent of the grants from the Mexican Government in 1841 was concerned, he had a clear title to the land. Unfortunately, when the boundary was fixed for this territory, the grant was made to cover twenty-six square leagues of land, and the southern boundary was placed some twenty miles north, at the junction of the Feather and Sacramento rivers, which, if strictly construed, would exclude the fort, Suttersville and the surrounding territory from the terms of the grant. Without doubt it was the intention of the grant that Sutter should locate, by proper surveys, land to the amount of eleven square leagues within the immense boundary described, and the remainder revert to the government as national property. It could not be considered otherwise from a reasonable position than that it was the intention of the Governor of California to give Sutter a title to the fort and this surrounding territory, while they were in fact excluded entirely by the statements included in the articles of the grant. To make matters worse, Sutter, not knowing the boundaries of his own land, or the extent of his own wealth, granted to land agents, right and left, parcels of land, giving them the only title that could be obtained at that time, and the squatters who came upon this land were forcibly ejected. In the winter of 1849 many settlers flocked into the Territory, and occupied vacant lands with tents and shanties and cabins in and around

Sacramento. The attempt to eject these from the lands of the supposed owners precipitated a riot between the squatters and the land agents.

Doctor Robinson, true to his characteristics, took up with the man who had the worst side of the battle. Right or wrong, legal or illegal, he saw what was justice in the matter, and stood up for the weak and oppressed. At a public meeting called by the squatters, and which was taken possession of by land speculators, Doctor Robinson offered the following resolution in opposition to the claims of the land agents:

"Whereas, The land in California is presumed to be public land, therefore,

"Resolved, That we will protect any settlers in the possession of land, to the extent of one lot in the city and 160 acres in the country, until a valid title shall be shown to it."

It is not possible here to follow the details of his adventuresome life in Sacramento during the next few months. In the struggle which ensued, Doctor Robinson was the leader of the squatter forces. As such he was shot, captured, and thrown into the prison-ship on the Sacramento river. Subsequently, he was released on bail. He was elected to the first Legislature that convened in the Territory at San José, while still in the prison-ship, and afterwards was acquitted of the charges against him and went forth a free man. Later, he sailed from San Francisco south on his way home, was wrecked on the Mexican coast, and finally returned to Massachusetts by the way of Panama.

The character of Doctor Robinson comes out clearly

through this whole struggle. He was convinced that he was right, had justice on his side, and was ready, even with his life, to defend the oppressed and those deprived of their rights. In the whole history of his life and career he never appeared to better advantage than when attempting to defend the helpless, or when fighting single-handed against open forms of injustice and oppression. In this movement he was clear-headed, conscientious, alert, and skillful, as evinced by the manner in which he routed the forces of adventurers and landholders, who had all the advantages in their favor. His subsequent history in California is little less than marvelous, for one can hardly realize the critical condition which he occupied before the law. While he escaped without severe penalty, on account of the state of social affairs in California at that time, it might easily have turned out entirely otherwise.

With four true bills of indictment against him by the grand jury,—one for murder, one for conspiracy, and two for assault with intent to kill,—Doctor Robinson was elected to the Legislature. Soon after election he was admitted to bail, and spent the time prior to the convening of the Legislature in editing a new paper, called *The Settlers' and Miners' Tribune*. But a change of venue referred the squatter cases of Sacramento to Benicia, and after the close of the session of the Legislature the prisoners were discharged on account of non-prosecution. By a unanimous vote of the Legislature, he was declared released from the custody of the courts.

During his term in the Legislature Doctor Robinson showed that he was a strong anti-slavery man. While he was in the prison-ship one of the attorneys, a Mr. Tweed,

appointed to defend the squatters, came to him in the interest of politics. Mr. Tweed advocated the division of California into two States, one portion to be slave and the other free. Doctor Robinson strongly opposed the scheme. On knowing the opinion of his client, Tweed advised him not to run for the Legislature, believing, or assuming to believe, it would prejudice his case in the courts. Doctor Robinson replied that if the people chose to vote for him he would not interfere, and if the courts decided to hang him because the people voted for him they could do so.

When the slavery question came up in the Legislature, Doctor Robinson favored Frémont, who was opposed to the extension of slavery. He did this to the detriment of his popularity with the squatters, as Frémont held the title to a large tract of land. But this had no influence in determining his action in respect to slavery, as it was a matter of inbred principle. It was, so far as is known, his first opportunity to publicly record his opposition to slavery. This he did, regardless of what effect it might have on his subsequent career. The opposition to Frémont favored the division of California, with the idea of extending slavery over the southern half. The Democrats favored Judge Hayden, of Alabama, and the Whigs T. Butler King, of Georgia, nominated in place of Frémont. Robinson with a few followers held the balance of power and defeated the election. At the next session the anti-slavery element had become sufficiently strong to elect Mr. Weller, of Ohio, which resulted in the final settlement of the question against the division of the State.

THE KANSAS CONFLICT.

ON September 9th, 1851, Doctor Robinson returned from California much improved in health. The variety of positions which he had held while away—physician, editor, restaurant-keeper, leader of the squatter rebellion, and member of the California Legislature—seemed to indicate that in the future he would have a wider sphere of activity than that of practicing medicine in a country town.

After his return from California, his friends, among whom was Mr. Benjamin Snow, father of Chancellor Snow, so well known in Kansas as a lecturer, scientist, and head of the Kansas University, urged him to edit a paper. At Snow's urgent request, Robinson took charge of the *Fitchburg News*, which he conducted with great vigor for a period of two years. On the other hand, his success as a practicing physician led other friends to urge him not to abandon his practice. The result was, that in an attempt to carry on both businesses he soon had an extended practice and was editing a paper at the same time,—an injudicious thing for a man who had felt it necessary to go to California for his health.

One of the chief results of Doctor Robinson's life while at Fitchburg was his marriage to the educated daughter—the later gifted writer—of Myron Lawrence, Miss Sara T. D. Lawrence, on October 30, 1851. She proved a worthy companion for him, especially in the Kansas strug-

gle, for her excellent judgment and ready pen did valiant service for the cause of freedom. Chief among her writings is "Kansas: its Interior and Exterior Life," a vivid and exact pen-picture of the early times, from 1854 to 1856. No other work has been written which gives such a true representation of the beginnings of the struggle. By it one is reminded of the hardships that women as well as men were forced to endure in the new country, and how nobly they bore their part in the making of the State. Through all the troublous times of the early period of Kansas, although history says comparatively little about the heroines of the struggle, glimpses here and there are given of their real service, and a consideration of the real conditions of life makes the imagination picture more of what they must have endured of hardships and suffering in common with their husbands, fathers and brothers.

It was at this juncture that the slavery agitation attracted considerable attention throughout the North, and especially in New England. The Kansas-Nebraska bill threw the Territory of Kansas open to settlement. The North and the South vied with each other in sending men into the new Territory, for occupation under the Kansas-Nebraska law. The Emigrant Aid Company was formed, and meetings were held at different places to agitate the question, collect money, and to enlist recruits for settlement in Kansas.

One day, at one of the Chapman Hall meetings in Boston, addressed by Eli Thayer, the speaker at the close of the meeting asked if anyone present would be willing to go to Kansas, whereupon Charles Robinson walked up and signed his name to the paper. After the meeting, Mr.

Thayer, who had noticed his quiet though self-reliant bearing, asked him if he was the Charles Robinson who went to California. His reply being in the affirmative, Mr. Thayer asked him if he would be willing to go to Kansas to live. "Yes," was the reply. "Would your wife be willing to go?" "I have no doubt of it," replied Robinson. "Well, then," continued Thayer, "will you come down to Boston to-morrow and meet the directors of the Emigrant Aid Company?" The early morning train brought Doctor Robinson to Boston. The result of the conference was, that Doctor Robinson agreed to leave Boston on the 28th of June, to make his future home in Kansas. Hurried preparations were made to close out his practice and arrange his business, that he might enter upon the new life. In connection with Charles H. Branscombe, of Holyoke, Massachusetts, and Samuel C. Pomeroy, of Southampton, he became agent for the Emigrant Aid Company. Dr. Robinson was the local agent of the company at Lawrence for two years, 1854-'56, while Branscombe's service extended to 1858 and Pomeroy's to 1862.

As agent of the Emigrant Aid Company, Doctor Robinson now became identified with one of the greatest movements of his time. His work consisted of managing the interests of the company for the purpose of securing and perpetuating human freedom. Doctor Robinson was sent out June 28, 1854, with Mr. Charles Branscombe, to explore the Territory of Kansas and secure a site for a town. While this exploration was going on, the first party of emigrants under the direction of the Emigrant Aid Company started from Massachusetts, arriving at their destination July 31, and proceeded to settle near the pres-

ent site of Lawrence. In the meantime, Doctor Robinson had gone to St. Louis to meet and conduct the second party of emigrants, which left Boston the last of August. These two parties joined, and, uniting their plans, laid out the town of Lawrence.

The Emigrant Aid Company was organized in New England, first under the name of "The Massachusetts Emigrant Aid Company," a charter of which was obtained by Eli Thayer on April 26, 1854, before the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska bill. As the purpose of the latter was to allow the question of slavery to be settled by a vote of the people who resided in the Territory, Eli Thayer, among others, conceived the idea of peopling Kansas with emigrants who were in favor of making it a free State. On account of certain legal defects in the charter of the company, a new charter was obtained, in 1855, under the title of "The New England Aid Company." While many other societies were formed to aid emigration to Kansas, the New England company under the management and inspiration of Eli Thayer performed by far the greatest service of all. Thayer, by lecturing and agitating, aroused the people of the North to forward emigrants into the new Territory. The services of the company could not be estimated by the number it actually helped to Kansas, for there were many who were aroused to go on their own account. But its practical service is recounted in the agency at Boston which collected and directed emigrants forward, and gave them cheap transportation to Kansas. It encouraged schools and churches, built hotels and saw-mills, and sought in many other ways

to make it possible and easier for emigrants to enter and settle in Kansas.

While the company was instrumental in sending many Free-State men to Kansas, they found other Free-State men there before them, and met a variety of interests with which they must contend. The company incurred the jealousy of many disgruntled persons, and the especial hatred and enmity of the Pro-Slavery elements in Kansas and Missouri. As Lawrence was the base of operations of the Aid Company, it became not only the rallying-point of the Free-State men, but the storm-center of the opposing Pro-Slavery advocates. This brought Doctor Robinson, the local agent, at once into a prominent place in the affairs of the Territory, and made him an important character in the deliberations of the Free-State men. He occupied many trying positions that were sufficient to test his courage and character. In the spring of 1854, before the final passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act, Eli Thayer began to advocate his plan, and on the 26th of April of the same year the Aid Company was chartered. Before the close of the year five hundred emigrants were sent out by this company from New England, and many more joined the several groups on their way West. It will never be known to what extent the company influenced emigration to Kansas, although sufficient is known to show that the work was great. The organized effort to send settlers into the Territory was of vital importance in directing and aiding people specifically, but the agitation of Eli Thayer, its founder, had great influence in keeping a constant stream of emigrants flowing in from other States. Its real service will be told in another number of the CLASSICS.

Dr. Robinson had the entire confidence of Eli Thayer and Amos A. Lawrence, who were the most influential persons in the management of the company. In the management of the affairs of the company, he showed a wise conservatism. Mr. Eli Thayer pays Doctor Robinson this glowing tribute:

“A wiser and more sagacious man for this work could not have been found within the borders of the nation. By nature and by training he was perfectly equipped for the arduous work before him. A true democrat and a lover of the rights of man, he had risked his life in California while defending the poor and weak against the oppression of the rich and powerful. He was willing at any time, if there were need, to die for his principles. In addition to such brave devotion to his duty, he had the clearest foresight and the coolest, calmest judgment in determining a course of action best adapted to secure the rights of the Free-State settlers. No one in Kansas was so much as he the man for the place and time. He was a deeper thinker than Atchison, and triumphed over the border ruffians and the more annoying and more dangerous of the self-seekers of his own party. The man who ‘paints the lily and gilds refined gold’ is just the one to tell us how Charles Robinson might have been better qualified for his Kansas work; but his character, so clearly defined in freedom’s greatest struggle, superior to the help or harm of criticism, reveals these salient points of excellence: majesty of mind and humility of heart, stern justice and tender sympathy, heroic will and sensitive conscience, masculine strength and maidenly modesty, leonine courage and womanly gentleness, with power to govern based on self-restraint, and love of freedom deeper than love of life.”

No doubt it would have been wise from a financial stand-

point had Dr. Robinson's advice been taken, to purchase a large tract of land at the mouth of the Kaw, where Kansas City now stands, as it would have given a great income to the investments of the Emigrant Aid Company. It would have been a far better investment than the purchase of the stock in the Quindaro Town Company, a town which was organized as a matter of business investment and as a political scheme of evading the opposition of the Missourians. The final financial outcome of the Emigrant Aid Company was disastrous, to those who invested in it with a hope of income. The organization had a far higher purpose. But notwithstanding all of its losses, the company might have been put on a paying basis had it been wise in selecting its investments at the mouth of the Kaw.

It appears that, whether in the management of the Emigrant Aid Company work, in the local political affairs of Lawrence, or in directing the affairs of the Territory, Dr. Robinson showed a rare genius. He knew when to be firm, cool, and calculating; he knew when to be bold, independent and vigorous in opposing his enemies. Another high tribute to him, by Amos A. Lawrence, a strong supporter of the cause of freedom in Kansas, must not be passed by:

"He was cool, judicious, and entirely devoid of fear, and in every respect worthy of the confidence imposed in him by the settlers and the society. He was obliged to submit to great hardships and injustice, chiefly through the imbecility of the United States Government's agent. He was imprisoned, his house was burned, and his life was often threatened. Yet he never bore arms, or omitted

to do whatever he thought to be his duty. He sternly held the people to loyalty to the government, against the arguments and examples of the 'higher-law' men, who were always armed and were not real settlers, and who were combined in bringing about the border war, which they hoped would extend to the other States. The policy of the New England society, carried out by Robinson and those who acted with him in Kansas, was finally successful and triumphant."

Such is the testimony of one of the men who, as president of the Emigrant Aid Company, and by private service, did much to advance the cause of freedom in Kansas. If this was the character of one of the foremost leaders of the Free-State cause, what shall be said of those who followed and supported him? The great majority of the members of the Free-State party were men of purpose and courage, who would hesitate to do an atrocious act but would not hesitate to engage in war for the defense of their homes and their political rights. It is true, some were reckless and even lawless marauders, whose influence was not best for the cause of freedom and justice; but they were in a small minority. The majority were frugal, earnest people, thinking of subduing the soil, building and defending homes, and voting for freedom. They were pioneers in a new country, who were to lay the foundation of a new commonwealth and build their structure upon it. The character of these people was of the New England quality. While they were anxious to plant the institutions of New England in the new soil of the West, they were not wanting in that thrift which ever characterizes the New-Englander. Truly, they sought to establish civil and

religious liberty in Kansas, and at the same time to gain possession of the promised land. The process was to establish homes and develop resources of the country, that free institutions might flourish. While united for their own welfare, they sought the freedom of others.

Col. S. N. Wood, in an address before the quarter-centennial celebration of the settlement of the State, at Topeka, said: "The pioneers who became intrusted leaders among the Free-State hosts were men who could not rest in their old homes when the demon of slavery was clutching at freedom's rightful heritage. Many of them were the sons of the old freemen who had learned to love freedom and claim it as the right of all nations." In this struggle strong leaders were needed, who could counsel the people through the difficulties of the settlement of the soil and the rearrangement of social and political affairs. Strong leaders were needed to battle for the right; to carry the people through the great constitutional struggle—the greatest since the creation and establishment of the Federal Constitution of the United States.

The Kansas-Nebraska bill left the Territory of Kansas open to settlement, with the exception of certain Indian reservations. Immediately people came from all parts of the United States to take up the free lands by simply settling on tracts staked out, and expecting to prove up claims thereafter and receive a title to the land. In some instances a stake with a sign on it stating that "A— B— has taken 160 acres of land from the center of this stake," was used. In others a house was begun, which frequently was nothing more than several logs crossed or part of a foundation made. In some instances the land claimed

was staked out and substantial cabins begun. In the scramble for lands much confusion arose as to rights, and many fierce contentions ensued. The whole trouble was greatly increased by the large number of Missourians who very early rushed across the border and staked claims on much of the best land, returning again to their homes. The contentions existed between Free-State as well as Pro-Slavery men, but more frequently they occurred between the Pro-Slavery and Free-State men.

The first incident of the kind on record at Lawrence brought Dr. Robinson into prominence as a defender of rights. It appears that the Emigrant Aid Company had selected the town-site of Lawrence, on which was located a claim of one Stevens. The company gave him \$500 for his claim, which the company supposed gave them a clear title to the whole site. Subsequently other claimants put in an appearance; of particular note among them was one John Baldwin, who settled a few yards from the Stevens cabin on the Lawrence town-site. Dr. Robinson did not wish to have trouble, and desired to have the question referred to the land office or the courts for settlement. This, Baldwin refused to do, but proceeded to associate with him men of influence and power, who placed their interests in the hands of one Starr, the latter proceeding to lay out a town-site, called Excelsior, part of which covered the town-site of Lawrence. The tent of the Lawrence association and that of Baldwin were not far apart on the same claim, the one which the company had paid \$500 for. Soon afterward, on the 5th of October, so says the chronicler, suddenly appeared a wagon with armed men who proceeded to take up the tent and place it in the wagon.

But the Lawrence people, headed by the city marshal, forced them to desist and to replace the tent. Soon after dinner on the following day, armed Missourians, friends of Baldwin, began to assemble, the number finally being swelled to eighteen. Likewise the friends of Robinson began to assemble, in numbers amounting to thirty, to defend their rights and their property. Finally, a messenger was sent to the Lawrence forces, bearing the following ultimatum:

“KANSAS TERRITORY, October 6th.

“DR. ROBINSON:—Yourself and friends are hereby notified that you will have one-half hour to move the tent which you have on my undisputed claim, and from this date desist from surveying on said claim. If the tent is not moved in one-half hour, we shall take the trouble to move the same.

(Signed) JOHN BALDWIN AND FRIENDS.”

To this the following reply was immediately made:

“To JOHN BALDWIN AND FRIENDS:—If you molest our property you do it at your peril.

C. ROBINSON AND FRIENDS.”

After this notice had been sent, a consultation was held between Doctor Robinson and a delegate from the enemy's post, at which a compromise was attempted by Doctor Robinson. He proposed to leave the case to the settlement of disinterested, unbiased men, or to the settlement of the squatter courts then existing, or even to the United States courts; but the delegate from the Baldwin party insisted that at the end of the half-hour they would attempt to remove the tent, and if they failed, 3,000 Missourians, or if necessary 30,000, would be raised in Missouri to sweep

the settlers from the earth. But the half-hour passed and no demonstration was made. While the suspension of hostilities lasted, John Hutchinson asked Doctor Robinson what he would do: "Would he fire to hit them, or would he fire over them?" Doctor Robinson promptly replied that he would be ashamed to fire at a man and not hit him.

This little incident showed clearly the temper of the Free-State men and the courage, coolness and conviction of their leader. The struggle over the land question continued, chiefly between the Lawrence association on the one side and the other settlers on the other. Finally a meeting was called to discuss the question, and Doctor Robinson, after hearing both sides, made a short speech, reviewing the charges made against him. He counseled the people to beware of quarrels among themselves, and impressed upon them the necessity of union, that they, with voice and hand, might defend the country from the curse of human bondage and the chains of slavery.

When the first election was held, and dominated by Missourians who came across the border and cast a majority vote for slavery, Doctor Robinson was among the first to counsel the people to entirely ignore the election as illegal and one which they were not bound to follow. Doctor Robinson was prominent at the various conventions that were held at Lawrence and elsewhere for the crystallization of sentiment in favor of the foundation of a republic. He was ever prominent in the councils of the people, holding now to a wise conservatism, and again bold in the denunciation of the course of the people of Missouri or the national government which was not in sympathy with the Free-State settlers of Kansas.

One of the most important events of the early history of Kansas was the election of the first Territorial Legislature, for it determined the course of events in the Territory. Soon after Governor Reeder came to Kansas he ordered a census of the Territory, divided it into districts, and called an election for March 30, 1855. It was quite important that the Pro-Slavery party should elect this Legislature if it ever expected to control the affairs of the Territory, for by so doing laws could be made and a constitution adopted favoring the institution of slavery. In order to be sure of winning the election, the people of the border counties of Missouri prepared to go to Kansas in armed bands, enter a sufficient number of election precincts and vote frequently enough to outnumber the Free-State voters. Inflammatory speeches were made by leaders in Missouri, until the people were worked up to a high pitch of excitement. On they came,—on foot, in wagons, and on horseback, thronging the highways, armed with guns, pistols and whisky, ready and anxious to carry out their plans.

According to the census there were 2,905 legal voters in the Territory, but there were polled 6,307 at this election; the Missourians electing every member of the upper house but one, Martin F. Conway.* If the Free-State men who had come from the Eastern States had hitherto failed to understand the nature of the foe with which they must contend during the next few years, there could be no mistake about it now. Possibly they formerly thought

* Conway did not receive a majority of the votes cast, but one fraudulent precinct was thrown out: this gave Conway the majority. The only election to the House of Representatives conceded was that of S. D. Houston, who resigned his seat. John Hutchinson was elected at the new election called by the Governor to correct frauds, but he was not allowed to take his seat.

to contend fairly on the soil of Kansas according to the terms of the Kansas-Nebraska bill for the sovereignty of the State. Now at least they were aware that their worst enemies were to dwell across the border in another State, to direct the campaign for slavery and against freedom.

Indignation was universal among the Free-State men, and consternation at the audacity of their enemies in their entire disregard of law was quite general. There appeared to be about one way to meet such fraud, and that by repudiation of the fraudulent election. It is rightly claimed that Dr. Robinson first suggested the plan of repudiation, but it was a thought so common in many minds that it became almost a unanimous expression of the popular mind of the Free-State men. By the suggestion of Dr. Robinson, George W. Deitzler and Kersey Coates, Martin F. Conway, the sole Free-State member of the upper house, sent a letter to Governor Reeder, resigning his seat in the Legislature. Referring to the Legislature, he said: "I utterly repudiate it as derogatory to the respectability of popular government and insulting to the virtue and intelligence of the age."

Now began a series of conventions for discussions, and resolutions against the "bogus" Legislature and in favor of independent action. Between June 8th and August 15th, 1855, there were no less than seven conventions in the city of Lawrence, this being the center of the Free-State movement. The first, held June 8th, passed strong resolutions against the election frauds and declared in favor of freedom. Dr. Robinson was present at this meeting, and, along with others, made a strong address in favor of repudiation of the government about to be thrust

upon them by the fraudulent elections. At the Free-State meeting in Lawrence held July 11th, Dr. Robinson recommended the choosing of delegates to form a State constitution. From the very beginning he took the ground that the people of Kansas were not obliged to submit to a government originating in fraud, but held strictly to the wise course of not coming in open conflict with the United States authorities.

More potent than all of the Lawrence conventions in crystallizing public opinion on the subject of repudiation, was the first Fourth of July celebration in Lawrence, held in 1855. The "bogus" Legislature had not yet begun its nefarious work of creating a body of laws inimical to freedom and insulting to the opinions of a body of freemen. But the opportunity was about to be given, and there was a feeling that a legislature chosen by open fraud and boasted usurpation would not fail to enact laws obnoxious to the Free-State people and in opposition to their cause. Mrs. Robinson says in regard to this celebration:

"Preparations are being made by our people to celebrate the coming Fourth of July. At this time, when freedom is but a name; when three millions of human beings, created in the divine image, are sold as chattels, in a country boasting of liberty; when the two hundred thousand slaveholders are using every endeavor to enslave the twenty-five millions of our countrymen, and we in Kansas already feel the iron heel of the oppressor, making us truly white slaves,—we will celebrate it by a new Declaration of Independence, and in the God of our fathers trust that He will lead us safely through the Red Sea of evil until we plant our feet securely on Freedom's bulwarks, having passed from this worse than Egyptian bondage."

It was estimated that from fifteen hundred to two thousand people assembled to celebrate, pledging themselves anew to freedom. What a striking spectacle was the long procession to the grove, of these people with conveyances of all kinds or on foot escorted by the militia! People in Eastern and Western dress, Delaware and Shawnee Indians in picturesque garb, a heterogeneous people of many political views, hear the reading of the Declaration and the oration, and witness the unfurling of the stars and stripes and the presentation of the flag to the militia companies.

The oration delivered by Dr. Robinson was important in arousing to patriotism and declaring the position of the Free-State men. It was up to this time the most important document setting forth the Free-State cause, and none came after with greater influence in crystallizing public opinion or shaping the course of events. It prepared the people for the reception of the "bogus" laws, soon to follow. In this he carefully reviews the condition of slavery and the condition of the country in general, and at the close gives an impassioned plea to the people to throw off the shackles of the Pro-Slavery party and stand forth for freedom. Says he:

"What are we? Subjects, slaves of Missouri. We come to the celebration of this anniversary with our chains clanking upon our limbs. We lift to heaven our manacled arms in supplication. Proscribed, denounced, we cannot so much as speak the name of liberty, except with prison-walls and halters looking us in the face. We must not only see black slavery, a blight and curse to any people, planted in our midst, and against our wishes, but we must become slaves ourselves."

In closing he said:

“Fellow-citizens, in conclusion, it is for us to choose for ourselves and for those who shall come after us, what institutions shall bless or curse our beautiful Kansas. Shall we have freedom for all our people, and consequently prosperity, or slavery for a part, and the mildew inseparable from it? Choose ye this day which ye will serve, slavery or freedom, and then be true to your choice. If slavery is best for Kansas, then choose it; but if *liberty*, then choose that.

“Let every man stand in his place, and acquit himself like a man who knows his rights, and knowing, dares maintain them. Let us repudiate all laws enacted by foreign legislative bodies, or dictated by Judge Lynch over the way. Tyrants are tyrants and tyranny is tyranny, whether under the garb of law or in opposition to it. So thought and so acted our ancestors, and so let *us* think and act. We are not alone in this contest. The entire nation is agitated upon the question of our rights; the spirit of '76 is breathing upon some, the handwriting upon the wall is being deciphered by others, while the remainder the gods are evidently preparing to destroy.

“Every pulsation in Kansas vibrates to the remotest artery of a body politic; and I seem to hear the millions of freemen and the millions of bondmen in our land, the millions of oppressed in other lands, the patriots and philanthropists of all countries, the spirits of the Revolutionary heroes and the voice of God, all saying to the people of Kansas, ‘Do your duty!’ ”

THE WAKARUSA WAR.

LAWRENCE was the center of the Free-State movement, and as such its inhabitants had incurred the special enmity of the Pro-Slavery party and of the Missourians in general. An incident occurred which came very near to bringing disaster to the little town. On the 21st of October, Charles Dow, a young Free-State man, was killed by a Pro-Slavery man named Coleman, as the result of a dispute over a claim. The death was without doubt a premeditated murder. Mr. Branson, a friend of Dow, had said some very pointed things in regard to the matter, which Coleman and his friends had construed into a threat, and had invoked the authority of Sheriff Jones, a Pro-Slavery Missourian who had been appointed sheriff of Douglas county. Jones with a posse went one night with a warrant to arrest Branson. Free-State men, finding out what was going on, collected under the leadership of S. N. Wood and Major Abbott to go to the rescue of Branson. They met Sheriff Jones and his posse with Branson, and demanded the prisoner. He was given up, and the rescuing party started for Lawrence. Not knowing what to do, they went to the house of Dr. Robinson early in the morning, for advice. Dr. Robinson counseled that the deed should not be credited to Lawrence, as the Missourians were only waiting for an opportunity to destroy the town. Meetings were held, at which a committee of safety was appointed, of which Dr. Robinson

was chairman; and resolutions were passed stating that Lawrence was not responsible for the rescue, and that the citizens of Kansas should pledge themselves "to the resistance of lawlessness and outrage at all times, when required by the officers who may from time to time be chosen to superintend the movements of the organization."

Sheriff Jones after the rescue went to Franklin, and sent a dispatch to Colonel Boone, of Westport, Missouri, calling upon the Missourians to assist in enforcing the law. Subsequently he sent word to Governor Shannon, who issued a proclamation, stating that the people of Lawrence were in a state of rebellion, and ordering Major-General William P. Richardson, to whom the communication was addressed, to collect as large a force as he could and come to Leecompton, to report to Sheriff Jones. Great excitement prevailed over the border in Missouri, and the forces began to gather to swell the Kansas militia. Soon a large force appeared on the Wakarusa, threatening Lawrence. Meanwhile, the citizens of Lawrence began to fortify the town and to drill companies for defense. Other Free-State men were gathering from distant towns for the defense of Lawrence. The Sharps' rifles that had been sent from New England, not by the Emigrant Aid Company but by the private acts of some of its members, were ready to do valiant service. Governor Shannon had apparently misunderstood the whole question, and was getting constantly farther from the truth by listening to the instruction of Sheriff Jones and other Pro-Slavery sympathizers. It is one of the mysteries of this whole affair that Governor Shannon did not take some sensible way of finding out the truth before he called on the militia,

the regular army, and the President of the United States for the support of a sheriff in serving writs on a few people in a small town. He certainly showed a weakness as Governor which amounted to incompetency. His generous calling and urging finally brought what he little expected,—a band of Missourians who were anxious to get a chance to destroy the town. Finally, a committee was sent to Le-compton to inform the Governor, who was induced to go to Lawrence to inquire into the real state of affairs. When once on the field he realized, apparently for the first time, the real status of the case, and went to work with a will to try to straighten up matters. This he succeeded in doing, the real battle never being fought.

In the Wakarusa War Dr. Robinson was placed in charge of affairs as commander-in-chief, and by adroit management he succeeded in obtaining a bloodless victory for the Free-State people. In this successful management he was aided by the intrepid Lane. Dr. Robinson took the position that the people of Lawrence had a right to defend themselves and their property against the illegal Territorial Government, which was in collusion with the Missourians, but he held strictly to the principle that it was not only improper but bad policy to defy the United States authorities. He knew that as soon as this was done the cause of the Free-State men was lost. He was ever ready to recognize a legally constituted government like that of the United States, but would not recognize a government established by usurpation of the rights of American citizens. In the preparation to defend themselves against the armed Missourians, who threatened the destruction of Lawrence, he was wise in counsel, bold in de-

fense, and just to all his fellow-laborers. When the Free-State men were finally recognized by the Governor of Kansas as having some rights, Governor Shannon placed Charles Robinson and J. H. Lane in authority, by the following note, delivered after the close of the Wakarusa War:

“TO CHARLES ROBINSON AND J. H. LANE: You are hereby authorized and directed to take such measures and use the enrolled force under your command in such a manner for the preservation of peace and protection of the persons and property of the people of Lawrence and vicinity as in your judgment shall best secure that end.

“Lawrence, Dec. 9, 1855. WILSON SHANNON.”

Charles Robinson knew how to be just to his fellow-workers and co-laborers. At the close of the Wakarusa War he addressed the volunteer companies, reviewing the cause of the war and its consequences. He said in part:

“Selected as your commander, it becomes my cheerful duty to tender to you, fellow-soldiers, the meed of praise so justly your due. Never did true men unite in a holier cause, and never did true bravery appear more conspicuous than in the ranks of our little army. Death before dishonor was visible in every countenance and felt by every heart. Bloodless though the contest has been, there are not wanting instances of heroism worthy of a more chivalric age.

“To the experience, skill and perseverance of gallant General Lane all credit is due for the thorough discipline of our forces and the complete and extensive preparations for defense. His services cannot be overrated, and long may he live to wear the laurels so bravely won. Others are worthy of special praise for distinguished services, and

all, both officers and privates, are entitled to the deepest gratitude of the people."

General Lane made an address, and in it paid a high tribute to his superior officer. Among other things he said: "From Major-General Robinson I received that counsel and advice which characterized him as a clear-headed, cool and trustworthy commander, who is entitled to your confidence and esteem." Doubtless it was to this "advice" and "clear-headedness" that we may attribute the almost bloodless victory of the Wakarusa War. The communication of the citizens to Governor Shannon, the brave men who carried the message to him; the women who went through the lines after powder; the sacrifices of the business men, and the general help in the preparation for the defense, made it possible to achieve victory. Without compromise and settlement, the people of Lawrence would have put up a strong defense of the town, but the outcome would have been doubtful on account of the strong force opposing them. It is a pity that men like Lane and Robinson, who could work together and pay each other such warm compliments at the close of the war, should have become estranged in the Kansas struggle for freedom. With a union of the cool counsel of Dr. Robinson and the impetuosity of Lane, the struggle would have been made easier and the history of it more rational and just to the rank and file of those who supported it. Unfortunately, these two men became rivals and enemies in the latter days of the Free-State movement and during the Civil War. To those who were not in the strife it is difficult to harmonize the personal element that prevailed, so

incompatible with the cause the pioneers represented—a personal element that has grown stronger through the controversy of passing years. Time alone can soften it, but the effects of a selfish personality are written deep into the annals of the past.

The warlike spirit of Lane was extremely useful in the inspiration it gave the people to defense, and without doubt it would have been highly serviceable in urging them on to war, but his turbulent spirit was not calculated to take and hold the advantages of peace. John Brown came upon the scene of defense and wanted to wage immediate war, and was disappointed because he could not. His attitude here, of trying to involve the nation in war against slavery, was substantiated by his subsequent career. He wished to have a shot at slavery, and said that "Without the shedding of blood there is no remission of sins." While he was of no service to the people of Lawrence at this time,—nor in fact at any other,—and was disappointed that the peace was established without a fight, he and his sons would have proved of immense benefit to Lawrence had there been a bloody struggle. Certainly he would have fought to the last.

The compromise of Robinson and Lane with the officers of the Pro-Slavery Missourians, which was brought about by the efforts of Governor Shannon, forms a most interesting document. When Governor Shannon, Col. Boone, Dr. Robinson and J. H. Lane went into the hall to consider the terms of compromise, the Governor asked that the arms be delivered up, referring to the Sharps' rifles that had been in use by the Lawrence and other companies. This was promptly refused. Finally, when the generals,

Robinson and Lane, went to meet the invaders at the request of Governor Shannon, they met the thirteen officers of the enemy in a small room at Franklin. Governor Shannon made a plain statement of the real conditions at Lawrence, saying that a misunderstanding had arisen; that the people of Lawrence were law-abiding citizens, and that they had not violated the laws and would not resist any legally appointed officer in the performance of his duty. General Lane made an address in his impulsive, impetuous style, which very nearly broke up the meeting. When they were about to abandon the conference, Governor Shannon asked them to wait and hear Gen. Robinson, whereupon the latter arose, and in a calm and clear way stated the facts of the case in such a fair and just manner that the compromise was finally effected.

While the people of Lawrence disclaimed any part in the rescue of Branson, and while they promised to keep order, aid officers in serving warrants, and help the Governor in securing a posse for the same, they insisted on every person so arrested while a foreign force was in the Territory, being "duly examined before a United States district judge of said Territory in said town, and admitted to bail." Also, the terms of agreement insist that Governor Shannon shall use his influence to secure to the citizens of the Territory remuneration "for any damages sustained, or unlawful depredations, if any had been committed in Douglas county." On the other hand, Governor Shannon stated that he had not called in "residents of other States to aid in the execution of the laws," nor would he call such citizens, when in the Territory of their choice, to aid in the exercise of any legal power. At the close

is this significant sentence: "That we wish it understood that we do not herein express any opinion as to the validity of the enactments of the Territorial Legislature." This was signed by Wilson Shannon, C. Robinson, and J. H. Lane. What a peculiar situation is it when the Governor of the Territory enters into an agreement with the representatives of a town that he will not break the laws of the land, and the representatives of the people also agree to abide by the laws, excepting the "enactments of the Territorial Legislature." This agreement, together with the one above signed by Governor Shannon, gave much power to the people of Lawrence. But the disappointed Missourians and Sheriff Jones withdrew to await other opportunities to destroy the town.

The saddest event of the Wakarusa War was the death of Barber, who had left his home to come to aid in the defense of Lawrence. He started, wholly unarmed, to return home one night, saying that he would return to Lawrence in the morning. Soon after he left the main road, he and his two companions were met by two horsemen, who rode from the ranks of twelve who were traveling on the California road. Barber was ordered to go with the men; he replied that he was unarmed, that he had been to Lawrence, and was returning home. Whereupon he put spurs to his horse and rode on. But George W. Clarke of the attacking party sent the bullet that killed poor Barber. This wanton murder aroused the Free-State men, and created much sentiment in favor of the Free-State party. It was made the subject of a poem by Whittier, which was read far and wide. The funeral was a solemn occasion. The whole community assembled out of grief

or patriotism or sympathy. One who was present said: "The love we had always borne to freedom is tenfold increased, while the hatred of oppression is intensified and strengthened. A new consecration of our energies, in this unequal fight for freedom, is made over the new-made grave." After the minister had finished the more than ordinary ceremonies, short speeches were made by Lane and Robinson. The address of the latter, though brief, was full of pathos and stirring in its appeals to manhood and patriotism. Perhaps of the great variety of addresses and writings of Robinson, the oration at the funeral of Barber is the gem of all.

While the troubles of Lawrence had to a large extent been occupying the attention of the Free-State men, another very important movement never lost any of its momentum. This was the work of organizing a Free-State party, framing a constitution and electing officers. The conventions and assemblies held in and about Lawrence had a tendency to crystallize public opinion in opposition to the Legislature and the so-called "bogus" laws. The Legislature elected by a majority of Missourians who had invaded the Territory, believing it to be their opportunity to settle forever the slavery question in Kansas, went to work, in violation of the spirit of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill and the Organic Act, and framed a set of odious laws, which if executed would not only establish slavery, but drive every Free-State man from the Territory. The laws were arbitrary in the appointment of county officials for the control of elections; for the enticing of slaves away from the Territory and the creation of disaffection among slaves in the Territory, they attached

the penalty of death or imprisonment for from two to five years, according to the offense specified in the said laws. These laws they attempted to enforce, and each successive Governor appointed by the Federal Government pledged himself to their support.

Following an appointment made on June 8th, a meeting was held June 25th, 1855, at Lawrence, and passed resolutions for self-government, urging good citizens "to throw away all minor issues and make the freedom of Kansas the only issue." On the 27th of June, J. S. Emery and James H. Lane and others held a meeting for the purpose of organizing a national Democratic party in Kansas. This meeting received but little support from the citizens of Kansas, and the scheme had to be abandoned. On August 14th, 1855, another convention was held at Lawrence. It is called "the first convention in Lawrence of Free-State men made up from the various political parties." Philip C. Schuyler presided at this meeting, at which Charles Robinson was chairman of the committee on resolutions. It is supposed that Dr. Robinson wrote the resolutions, which are as follows:

"Whereas, The people of Kansas have been since its development, and now are without any law-making power, therefore,

"*Be it resolved*, That we, the people of Kansas Territory, in mass meeting assembled, irrespective of party distinctions, influenced by common necessity, greatly desirous of promoting the common good, do hereby call upon and request all *bona fide* citizens of Kansas Territory, of whatever political views and predilections, to consult together in their respective election districts, in mass conventions or otherwise, elect three delegates for each Rep-

representative to which such election district is entitled in the House of Representatives of the Legislative Assembly, by proclamation of Governor Reeder of date of 19th of March, 1855. Said delegates to assemble in convention at the town of Topeka on the 19th day of September, 1855, and then and there to consider and determine upon subjects of public interest, and particularly upon that having reference to a speedy formation of a State constitution, with an intention of immediate application to be admitted as a State into the Union of the United States of America."

Other resolutions were adopted, and a Free-State convention was called to meet at Big Springs, in Douglas county, September 5th. The convention also appointed a Free-State executive committee, with Charles Robinson as chairman and J. K. Goodin secretary, for the purpose of looking after the general interests of the Free-State party in the Territory. This convention marks the formal beginning of the Free-State party, which led to the Topeka Constitution and the Topeka Government. It appears that the Big Springs convention; which was to intervene between the Lawrence convention and the constitutional convention at Topeka, was called for the purpose of organizing the Free-State party. Many resolutions were made; one introduced by James H. Lane and known as the Big Springs Platform, and another introduced by James S. Emery, which had been written by ex-Governor Reeder, arraigned the Territorial government in severe terms. The platform appealed to all people of all parties in the Territory to organize against the Pro-Slavery government which was about to be forced upon them through the assistance of the citizens of Missouri. The platform was very broad in many ways, but the fact that it excluded "all negroes,

bond or free, from the Territory," repudiated the charge of abolitionism as applied to the Free-State party. It was a vigorous document, but not without its inconsistencies; for while it proclaimed freedom and opposed slave labor, it was unwilling that any free negroes should find a home in the Territory. But notwithstanding this inconsistency, the platform represented a working basis for the Free-State men, and probably by its loose construction brought a larger number of people together in support of the Free-State organization.

The vigorous repudiation of the bogus laws and Legislature, written by ex-Governor Reeder, represented the grounds of action for the organization of a Free-State party, and the creation of a constitution under which the Territory could be admitted into the Union as a State. The people's convention, held at Lawrence on the 14th of August, calling for a delegate convention to meet at Topeka on the 19th of September for the purpose of considering the propriety of the formation of a State constitution, was indorsed. Another important feature of this convention was the nomination of A. H. Reeder to represent the Territory in Congress, and the fixing of the election day on the second Tuesday in October.

It will be observed that Dr. Robinson was not present at this convention, nor was he a member of the convention that met at Topeka on the 19th of September. This was essentially the same body that met at Big Springs, and the same principles of organization were advocated. On October 9th, 1855, delegates to the Topeka Constitutional Convention were elected, and among the candidates from the first district was Dr. Robinson.

The convention met on October 23d, and proceeded to make a constitution. A long discussion on the question of excluding negroes from full rights of citizenship resulted in a vote of twenty-five in favor of it and seventeen against, among the latter group being Robinson, true to his principles. Here again we find the inconsistency in the Free-State party in declaring that "all men are by nature free and independent," and then proceeding to state that "every *white* male citizen and every civilized male Indian," etc., shall be entitled to vote. This statement not only found its way into the Topeka Constitution, but subsequently into the Wyandotte Constitution, which became the law of the land, and remains so to this day. A proposition was introduced, to be voted upon at the same time the Topeka Constitution was submitted to the people, excluding negroes from the Territory. When the constitution was adopted, this was carried. It seems, then, that the people were only partially committed to the question of freedom of all people, white and black.

On January 12th, 1856, a Free-State meeting at Lawrence was addressed by Governor Robinson and others. James H. Lane, as chairman of the committee on resolutions, reported in favor of "a Free-State government in Kansas without delay, emanating from the people and responsible to them." Three days later the election of officers under the Topeka Free-State Constitution took place, which resulted in giving Charles Robinson a vote of 1,296 for Governor as against 410 votes for W. Y. Roberts.

On March 4th, 1856, the first meeting of the Topeka Legislature occurred, and the Governor, Charles Robinson,

presented an able message to the Legislature, which is now considered an important historical document. After appointing commissioners to prepare a code of laws, electing James H. Lane and Andrew H. Reeder United States Senators, and preparing a memorial to Congress asking admission into the Union, the Legislature adjourned on March 8th, to reassemble July 4th. Thus was inaugurated the Free-State movement, with Governor Robinson at its head.

An important event occurred when on the 18th of April the Congressional committee, composed of Mr. W. A. Howard, John Sherman, and M. Oliver, appointed for the purpose of investigating the troubles in Kansas,—and especially the elections,—arrived in the Territory. The majority of the committee reported that the elections in the Territory were fraudulent. About this time, Sheriff Jones of Wakarusa fame appeared in Lawrence to arrest S. N. Wood as the leader of the Branson rescuing party. It appears that through Dr. Robinson's advice, Wood, Abbott and Tappan left Lawrence for the time. Jones failed to arrest anybody this time, but returned again later, when someone shot him while he was in his tent. This aroused the frontier again, and a letter from Col. E. V. Sumner to Charles Robinson, pointing out the necessity of obedience to the laws, met a ready response from the latter, who declared that it was the "policy of the people of Lawrence to yield prompt obedience to the officers of the Federal Government," and averring that the people of Lawrence would not defend any such act as the attempt upon Sheriff Jones's life.

In the second week of May, when the district court was

assembled, Chief-Justice Lecompte made his charge to the grand jury so plain that the jury carried out the plan of indicting the chief leaders of the Free-State party. A member of the grand jury, James F. Legate, met Robinson, Reeder, Sherman and Howard, at Tecumseh, and informed them of the plan of indictment for treason. The night following this information a council of war was held at the Garvey House, Topeka, at which Messrs. Howard, Sherman, Reeder, Roberts and Robinson, and Mrs. Sherman and Mrs. Robinson, were present. The whole situation was fully discussed, and it was decided, among other things, that the Free-State men should act in defense of the State organization rather than in attacking the Territorial Government. It was also decided that some agent should be sent East to arouse the Governors of the Northern States and the various Kansas sympathizers of the North. Dr. Robinson was chosen for this important service. Therefore, on the 9th day of May he started with Mrs. Robinson on his way East. He made the journey safely as far as Lexington, Mo., where Pro-Slavery men, who had been informed of his intended visit, came aboard the boat and arrested him under the pretense that he was fleeing from justice. No indictment could be found against Robinson, but he was detained a week until an indictment could be had for the "usurpation" of office on account of having been elected Governor under the "constitution." The requisition of Governor Shannon on the Governor of Missouri having been obtained, Robinson started back to Kansas under guard. He was taken to Westport Landing and then to Leavenworth, where an attempt to take his life was thwarted. He, with others

who were indicted at the same time,—G. W. Smith, George W. Deitzler, George W. Brown and Gaius Jenkins,—were confined in the prison-camp near Leecompton for about four months. Robinson bore his confinement with uncomplaining fortitude, believing that justice would finally prevail and that all would be acquitted and released. What would have happened had not the Free-State cause advanced, no one can tell; but the facts record acquittal, and a grand triumph over the spurious counts that indicted the great leaders of this conflict.

When Robinson was arrested at Lexington, Mrs. Robinson was allowed to pursue her journey East, and she visited many of the important people who were sympathizers of Kansas, inspiring every one she met with enthusiasm for the Kansas cause. Thus, while the object of the Governor was thwarted, Mrs. Robinson took up the cause and succeeded in carrying out the plan successfully.

It was while the leaders were imprisoned at Leecompton that General Lane, appearing near there with a small army, sent word to Governor Robinson that he had come to rescue him. This was on August 10th, 1856. Lane asked him to answer promptly, and that if he could not escape that he, Lane, would attack the guard. Robinson knew that this would be disastrous to the cause of freedom, for it would place the Free-State men in direct opposition to the Federal Government, which condition would soon end their affairs; hence he refused to be rescued. John Brown also proposed a similar rescue, but this was also promptly refused.

What would have been the result of this imprisonment of the leading men of the Territory no one can tell, had it

not been for the arrival of Governor Geary. For not only were many of the important leaders thus confined, but others, still at large, were under indictment, and might be apprehended and their usefulness greatly impaired. When the Free-State Legislature met on July 4th the Governor was in prison, and Governor Shannon ordered the guard dispersed by the militia under Colonel Sumner, the order of Shannon having been given to Sumner on July 3d. Governor Geary arrived at Leecompton on September 10th, and Governor Robinson was released on bail of \$5,000, and the militia and assembled troops were ordered to disband and repair to their homes. On the 15th of September he appeared on the hill above Lawrence with his United States troops, and looked down into the valley upon 2,700 men, mostly from Missouri, summoned at the instance of Sheriff Jones for the purpose of destroying Lawrence. The sheriff's "posse" was dispersed.

Not long after his release Governor Robinson took a journey East, and we find him delivering a Republican speech in New York on October 22d. After a tour of the Eastern cities he returned to Kansas, and on December 1st founded the town of Quindaro, on the Missouri river. The object of this town was to furnish a landing-place for boats, on account of the hostility shown by the Missourians at Kansas City, and also to build up a city for speculative purposes. It was a common occurrence in those days to start towns and invest in town lots with the expectation that they would eventually become cities, but Quindaro failed, and much to the detriment of all who had invested in it. So far as can be learned, no one was

particularly responsible for the failure, yet those who suffered most were inclined to abuse the person who founded the town. Statements of those who were well acquainted with the affair vindicate Governor Robinson from any duplicity in the matter.

In March, 1857, a Free-State convention was called at Topeka, and Governor Robinson was, among others, called to prepare an address to the American people concerning the affairs of Kansas. A long list of resolutions setting forth the conditions and laying a plan of action was adopted.

While Governor Robinson was East he had left his resignation as Governor, believing this to be the best thing to be done for the Free-State cause. He was censured severely for this, but he gave an able defense of his action. On March 12th, after his return to Kansas, he withdrew his resignation as Governor, and declared anew his adhesion to the Topeka movement.

After the failure and resignation of Governor Geary, affairs were again assuming their old condition. The trial of Robinson for usurpation of office came up on August 18th, and he was acquitted by a jury on the 20th.

One of the most important phases of the Free-State movement was the refusal of the Free-State men to vote with the Pro-Slavery people under the Territorial Government. This the Free-State leaders, and all who had followed them, had stoutly asserted as their only safeguard in repudiating the Legislature and its laws. The Free-State men, however, had gained in numbers, so that with a reasonably fair election they could outvote their opponents and elect a Legislature. Governor Walker assured

them that they should have the protection of an honest election, and there was a great deal of contention among Free-State men as to whether his advice should be taken or not. To settle this question a Free-State mass convention was held at Grasshopper Falls on August 26th, 1857. A delegate convention was held at the same time. Robinson and others favored voting. The argument was, that while they had strenuously opposed voting because they desired to repudiate the action of the Territorial Legislature, the time had now arrived when they could control the Legislature, and as the Lecompton Constitution which had been created was then before Congress and probably would be adopted, it would be better that the Free-State men should be in a position to prevent the making of laws under that constitution rather than to leave such an important office in the hands of the Pro-Slavery Legislature. After a spirited discussion, a majority of the Free-State men decided finally to vote for the Legislature. The result was as desired, and the Territorial Legislature under the Federal Democratic administration was now placed in the hands of the Free-State men, who legislated as they pleased for Kansas.

It is not possible here to follow the various events that occurred throughout the Territory from this time on to the adoption of the Wyandotte Constitution and the admission of the State into the Union. It may be important to state, however, that subsequently the Free-State Legislature and the Territorial Legislature met at the same time in Lawrence, and at this time the Topeka Legislature surrendered its claims to power as a Territorial Legislature, and though some attempts were made to revive the Free-State party afterward, they were failures. It had out-

lived its usefulness, and therefore ceased to exist. And were it asked what service it had performed, it might be stated that it kept the Free-State movement alive and the Free-State men together during the entire struggle, and formed a rallying-point for all parties in opposition to the Pro-Slavery people and their bogus laws. The whole Topeka movement was of inestimable value to the Free-State cause; but it had outlived its usefulness, and there was no further need of its existence. The organization of the Republican party at Osawatomie on May 18, 1859, gave an opportunity for the Free-State men to organize as a branch of the national Republican party.

Many stirring events occurred throughout the Territory, of which it will be impossible to speak here for lack of space, and because they are not essentially germane to the subject at hand. Many troubles in the southeast occurred, and at one time Governor Robinson accompanied Governor Denver into that section of the Territory to assist in establishing peace between the contending parties. The Pro-Slavery massacre on the Pottawatomie by John Brown, the similar Free-State one on the Marais des Cygnes by Hamilton, and the marauding bands of both parties, left the country in a state of terror. James Montgomery organized the Free-State men for defense and for aggressive warfare. The warfare was foolishly continued on the part of Free-State men after the latter had obtained control of the Territorial Legislature and were masters of the situation. It was to help settle these difficulties—outrages would be a better term—that Governor Robinson was asked to accompany the Territorial Governor.

THE FIRST GOVERNOR OF THE STATE OF KANSAS.

THE Topeka Constitution having outlived its usefulness; the force of the Free-State party having been transferred to the Republican party; the work of the Topeka Legislature having been transferred to the Territorial Legislature on account of the capture of the latter at the polls by the Free-State men; the failure of the Leavenworth Constitution almost before its creation, and the death of the Lecompton Constitution at the hands of the people after an honest vote had been obtained, rendered it necessary to make a new constitution for the purpose of admission of Kansas into the Union. Almost an entirely new body of men was selected for this purpose, who met at Wyandotte in convention on July 5th, 1859. While only seven of the whole number of delegates had been members of previous constitutional conventions, they had many precedents. They knew of the merits and the defects of the Topeka, Lecompton and Leavenworth constitutions, and had before them the constitutions of many of the older States of the Union. While the Wyandotte Constitution combined the features of several, it was largely taken from Ohio, Indiana, and Iowa—the first predominating in its influence. After the adoption of the constitution a State organization was completed and officers elected, although Kansas was not admitted into the Union until January, 1861.

Perhaps the most important testimony of the value of Governor Robinson in Kansas and the esteem in which he was held by the people is recorded in these facts: that while he was not at the Big Springs Convention, where the platform of the Free-State party was made, nor at the delegate convention held at Topeka, September 19th, 1855, for the purpose of considering the plans for a constitutional convention, and moreover that he represented a small minority in the constitutional convention of October 23d, 1855, on certain important questions relating to slavery, yet he was chosen the first Free-State Governor of Kansas under the Topeka Constitution. Also, not being a member of the Wyandotte Constitutional Convention and being practically free from the political side of affairs, he was chosen the first Governor of the State of Kansas. It was a just tribute and ready acknowledgment of his faithful leadership, and a victory which his enemies tried to turn into defeat; an honor which they in vain tried to turn into dishonor.

There were many trying duties to perform in the establishment of the State Government, and the difficulties were greatly multiplied by the Civil War, which came as a great disturber to the infant State. The State Government machinery must be put in motion; money raised by taxation and by bonds, for the Territory was poor in comparison to the demands upon it; laws must be made; and troops raised for the defense of the National Government. All of this must be done with the dangers of faulty officials, the intrigues of politicians, and the dangers of war. Everything was in a new and untried condition, and defects as well as difficulties must be encountered. Governor

Robinson was a strong supporter of the war, for he believed in sacrifice for freedom. In his first message to the Legislature he said: "While it is the duty of each loyal State to see that equal and exact justice is done to every other State, it is equally its duty to sustain the chief executive of the nation in defending the government of foes whether from within or from without; and Kansas, though last and least of the States of the Union, will ever be ready to answer the call of her country." These were prophetic words, for Kansas furnished more soldiers in proportion to the inhabitants in putting down the rebellion and freeing the slaves, than any other State in the Union.

It is to be deplored that one of the most unfortunate circumstances prevailed, which caused Governor Robinson more trouble and came most nearly to throwing a cloud over his political life of any other affair ever occurring. This was chiefly on account of General Lane, who had been elected United States Senator from Kansas. He had President Lincoln's ear, and his confidence. Apparently the President liked the bold, vigorous ways of Lane, while others seemed so slow to move. Lane also did him a service in standing guard over his person at the White House when he was supposed to be in danger. In all probability this was a useless proceeding, but it had its effect on the President. This gave Lane his opportunity to give exercise to his vaulting ambition to run affairs in Kansas. He had an unbounded ambition to become a military leader and dictator in Kansas, and therefore worked against the Governor of the State in every way possible in trying to usurp his right to raise troops and commission officers. He was so persistent with the authorities at

Washington that he nearly won his point. It is impossible to enter the details of this affair, however interesting it might prove to the reader; for want of space compels the writer to confine himself to categorical statements of facts. There is nothing on record to show that Governor Robinson was derelict in his duty in the support of the Federal Government in the war. Yet it appears that the Federal authorities at the seat of government thought him so, and therefore gave Lane authority to raise troops and to become Brigadier-General while he was still United States Senator. Everything points to the supposition that Lane had prejudiced the authorities in his favor and against Robinson. It is evident that President Lincoln and others at the capital were misinformed, and that Lincoln made a mistake in treating Robinson unfairly and in a way different from other Governors in trying to take from him the right of commissioning officers. While no one would indulge in an attack upon President Lincoln, it is well to admit occasionally to ourselves, as he often did to himself and to others, that he was only human, and made mistakes as well as other people. In short, everybody who knows the course of the Civil War, especially in its first years, realizes that there were not only many mistakes made, but many jealousies and political intrigues which cast a shadow upon its conduct because of some who were possessed of selfish ambition to rule. Notwithstanding the fact that Governor Robinson had doubled the quota of troops for Kansas, Lane was authorized to raise and officer two regiments and command a brigade. Robinson met this by sending on the appointment of Frederick P. Stanton as Senator in Lane's place. Lane started for

Washington to hold his seat. When Secretary Stanton sent a threatening letter to Robinson commanding him to commission the regiments, Robinson promptly replied that he could not force the Governor of Kansas to dishonor his office. While Governor Robinson stood up manfully for his rights, the unjust treatment he received at the hands of the Federal authorities embittered him against the government; and this and other events caused him to lose his ardor for the Republican party, while nothing made him forget what he thought to be his duty.

One other grievous circumstance arose in his administration of the affairs of Kansas, that of the "*unlawful*" sale of bonds. The enormous expenses of the young State in establishing the government, in fighting Indians and border ruffians, and in the support of the war, made it necessary to sell bonds. The Legislature fixed the minimum price of the bonds at seventy cents, except that \$20,000 of war bonds might be sold at any price obtainable by the Secretary of State. The war bonds sold for \$12,000. Governor Robinson tried to sell the other bonds, amounting to \$150,000, but could get no offers, as he refused to take less than seventy per cent. for them. At this time, Iowa, Wisconsin and Minnesota bonds were being sold as low as forty per cent. Finally, the Secretary and the Auditor went to Washington and succeeded in selling the bonds to the Secretary of the Interior as an investment of Indian money.

While these parties violated a law of the Legislature, they acted in good faith. The State was in great need of money; they could get sixty cents or else go without a sale. They adopted the former course as the best for

the State. As the trial showed, they were not guilty of dishonesty or dishonor or corruption, as they made no money out of the sale. However, the bonds were sold at eighty-five cents to the Indian agent, and it was thought that the fifteen per cent. margin should have gone to the State of Kansas. A reasonable fee went to the agent; \$500 to Lane's private secretary, and the rest was absorbed somewhere in Washington, the Secretary and Auditor getting nothing. So far as the charge of corruption was concerned, the officers of the State were blameless; they did the best they knew for the State, but in so doing they violated law, and hence were held responsible. Through the instigation of Lane, Governor Robinson, the Secretary of State and the Auditor were impeached. Governor Robinson was acquitted on every indictment, but the other two were convicted.

Much has been said about the famous "bond swindle" by the political enemies of Governor Robinson, and many attempts were made to stigmatize the administration by opposing politicians, but they did not succeed, except among those ignorant of the circumstances. It was an advantage readily seized by political opponents, to make capital out of an unintentional wrong, for if the Auditor and Secretary violated the letter of the law they undoubtedly obeyed it in the spirit. Could they have presented the case to the Legislature before acting, without doubt that body would have passed a resolution immediately, accepting sixty cents from the bonds. As it was, Governor Robinson had not sanctioned the sale at sixty cents, and therefore was not found guilty. Yet it was done under

his administration, and many to this day ignorantly and unjustly attach more or less blame to him.

Upon the whole, Governor Robinson as the chief executive of Kansas administered the affairs of the State with wisdom and integrity. He bore himself with courage and fortitude under the most trying scenes of his administration. He withstood the taunts of his enemies, the intrigues of politicians, and the difficulties naturally arising from his position, with calmness and faith. He lived, however, to vindicate his position, and to make many of his opponents feel the power of his keen and uncompromising pen.

SUBSEQUENT EVENTS.

THE life of Governor Robinson, after his term of office had expired, was a quiet one. After his home in Lawrence was burned, he made no attempt to rebuild, but lived in a home standing where now is the beautiful residence of the late B. W. Woodward. Subsequently he retired to his farm at "Oakridge," nearly five miles from the town, where he spent the remainder of his days in agricultural pursuits, ever taking a deep interest in the affairs of the people of the State and Nation, and lending his aid to the cause of humanity in general. He was always interested in the affairs of the community in which he lived, and especially in the young people of the neighborhood. He took part in the frequent evening entertainments at the school-house near his home, and superintended the Sunday-school in the afternoon of each Sabbath. As an instance of his kindly interest in the young, he was known to come from Topeka, during his term as State Senator, to attend a gathering at the school-house, returning to Topeka the same night to be on hand the next day for Senatorial duty. He was interested in the Grange and the Good Templars, both of which held frequent meetings at the school-house. Thus did he fulfill the simple duty of an American citizen by taking part in local affairs.

Governor Robinson was intensely interested in the social, economic and political topics of the times, and wielded a virile pen with power and skill in newspaper, magazine and

book, in behalf of historical truth and wise public policy. He was a pungent writer, with a direct and convincing style in the presentation of his subject, adroit and skillful in argumentation. He never took up his pen unless he had something important to say to the public. He could make a strong case for his side of the question, and, although seemingly fair, gave little quarter to his literary opponents. While he was vigorous in declaring the truth, he was willing to acknowledge that he was frequently wrong in judgment, and he pursued the other side with equal vigor. When once he learned the real facts of the conduct of John Brown on the Pottawatomie, he could not defend Brown's course there, while he might acknowledge his services in a general way to the cause of freedom. His most extended work, "The Kansas Conflict," is loaded with facts, and is full of pungent writing respecting the early scenes of Kansas, in which he was an important actor. The book adds much to the historical literature of Kansas, and will be of great service to the coming historians of Kansas who shall write a history of the great struggle from a universal rather than a personal standpoint.

Governor Robinson's pen was ever active in the service of historical truth and justice to humanity. It fell heaviest on certain pseudo-historians who attempt to gloss over Kansas history, which they attempt to write from the standpoint of inner consciousness rather than from the real facts, which they are too indolent to ascertain or too uncompromising to acknowledge. The real history of Kansas, while it will recognize the true merit of all who were engaged in the early struggle, will break many a cherished idol.

Governor Robinson's agricultural life caused him to identify himself with the Grange movement, which, starting as a non-partisan organization, finally became a great political engine. He believed in equalizing government for the benefit of the great rural populations, as against the wealth of the trading, manufacturing and transporting classes. He believed in a popular money for the people, which could not be cornered by speculators nor would be subject to the rise and fall in value determined by economic laws of supply and demand. With these and other extreme Democratic tendencies, he found himself not a close adherent to the Republican party after the war. Hence, his political career was not prominent nor regular. In 1874 he was elected to the State Senate, and in 1876 to a second term. In 1888 he was a candidate for Congress in the Second District, but fell short of election. In 1890 he ran for Governor, supported by the Democrats and Greenbackers. In 1888 he was appointed Superintendent of Haskell Institute, which he managed with vigor, despite his failing health, until his successor was appointed.

These are the principal items respecting his later political career, which, with his regency of the University, were sufficient to identify him with public affairs. At the time of his death he was working with the Demo-Populist party, though not in full sympathy with it. It suited him better than did the Republican party as organized in the State.

PROMOTER OF EDUCATION.

DOCTOR ROBINSON was identified with the early educational interests of the Territory of Kansas. He was chiefly instrumental in organizing the first school in Lawrence, which was the first school for white children in the Territory, mission schools having been established earlier. It was taught in the back part of the building occupied by the Emigrant Aid Company, in January, 1855, by E. P. Fitch. Miss Kate Kellogg, who accompanied Doctor Robinson to Kansas as one of his family in the spring of 1855, came to teach the summer-autumn school, which she did quite successfully, the expenses of the school being borne by Doctor Robinson. Misses Mary and Caroline Chapin came to Lawrence in September, after the raid, which occurred in August, 1863, and opened a school early in the following winter. Governor Robinson and George W. Deitzler paid the tuition of a number of the pupils. C. L. Edwards, now in business at Lawrence, for several years conducted with success the Quincy high school. These schools were at first supported by subscription.

In 1856 Mr. Amos A. Lawrence requested Doctor Robinson to spend money for him to lay the foundation of a school building on the north part of Mount Oread, which is now the site of North College. In explaining his plans to Rev. E. Nute, of Lawrence, in a letter dated December 16th, 1856, Mr. Lawrence stated: "You shall have a college which shall be a school of learning, and at the

same time a monument to perpetuate the memory of those martyrs who fell during the recent struggle. Beneath it their dust shall rest; in it shall burn the light of liberty, which shall never be extinguished until it illumines the whole continent." As a foundation of this Free-State college Mr. Lawrence gave the sum of \$10,000, in the form of two notes. Work was soon begun on the building, but was soon suspended on account of the title of the land being imperfect.

Later, on February 14, 1857, Mr. Lawrence constituted Charles Robinson and S. C. Pomeroy trustees of funds amounting to \$12,696.14, for the purpose of advancing education and religion in the Territory. The plans for the Free-State college were not carried into execution at once, but the people, ever active for the foundation of a university, planned, under the auspices of the Presbyterian Church of America, a college. Among the directors of this college were Charles Robinson and many other and well-known and honorable settlers of Lawrence. Appropriate committees were appointed, and plans were made for the erection of a building which was to cost \$50,000. This university was regularly sanctioned by the Legislature of 1859. Subsequently the trustees proceeded to organize a university. Under the plan of that institution, an attempt was made to carry it on by the Congregationalists. During all this time Doctor Robinson was active in his support of the various phases of this early education, but it was not until the State came to the rescue that the enterprise finally succeeded.

The constitution adopted by the State provided for the foundation of a university, which was finally located at

Lawrence. A bill in 1861 favored the location of this institution at Manhattan, but the bill was vetoed by Governor Robinson, who thought the movement premature. It having finally been determined to locate the university at Lawrence, commissioners were appointed to fix the site. Doctor Robinson came forward with a proposition to furnish forty acres of land above the city, on condition that the Council would deed him a half-block of land lying south of the school foundation on Mount Oread. Twenty-one acres of this land belonged to Mrs. Robinson, which was bought from J. F. Morgan, lying south of the claim Doctor Robinson preëmpted.

In the organization of the State University, Charles Robinson was among the first regents. In the early details of the institution he gave the institution of learning his earnest support. He served on the building committee when the main building, Fraser Hall, was erected, and for many years was a representative member of the board of regents. In 1889, in recognition of his eminent services and on account of his scholarly ability, the board of regents conferred on him the degree of doctor of laws.

In 1895 the Legislature passed a law appropriating \$1,000 for a marble bust of ex-Governor Robinson, to be placed in University chapel. The committee for the selection of an artist and the approval of his work consisted of Sara T. D. Robinson, B. W. Woodward, and Charles Chadwick. In the unveiling of this bust appropriate ceremonies were had at the University. Addresses were made by Governor Leedy, B. W. Woodward, and Hon. Charles F. Scott. On this occasion Mr. Scott paid a glowing tribute to the

life and character of ex-Governor Robinson, from which the following quotation is given :

“As nearly as any man I ever knew, Charles Robinson deserved the tribute which the laureate paid to the Iron Duke when he said of him that he ‘stood four-square to all the winds that blew.’ He came as near standing by himself, balanced by his own judgment, requiring no strengthening support from other men, either as individuals or as aggregated into parties or churches or societies of any kind. At various times of his life he worked with various political parties, but when the particular object of the work was accomplished he put the party aside apparently with as little concern as he would lay down a tool that he was done with. The fear of being called inconsistent never troubled him. In fact, no fear of any kind, either moral or physical, ever troubled him. He said what he thought ought to be said, with as small regard to consequences as he did what he thought ought to be done. As, if the words of to-day contradicted those of yesterday, that did not concern him, for the words of both yesterday and to-day were honest words. He did not know what the word ‘policy’ meant, so far as the word might be applied to his own fortunes. He knew, doubtless, as well as everybody else knew, that he sacrificed all the political honors which a grateful and admiring people would have been proud to bestow, when he severed his connection with the dominant party. But the thought, if it occurred to him, never bade him a moment’s pause.”

In the latter years of the life of Governor Robinson he was again appointed regent of the University, and held that position until the time of his death. As a crowning act of his long support of educational life, he left the larger part of his estate as a gift to the university which he had nourished in infancy, supported with vigor in its early youth, and cherished in his declining years.

LIFE AND CHARACTER.

IN concluding this brief biography, it is perhaps fitting to add a few words representing the life and character of Governor Robinson, gathered from his actual service to humanity and gleaned from the opinions of those who knew him best. As one belonging to another generation from those who endured the hardships of the early struggle for freedom in Kansas, I approach the life of one who was an actor in these stirring scenes with becoming reverence. It is at best but a small tribute that this generation can pay to the preceding, but it is best shown in reverence and honor to those who fought the early battles, who endured the early struggles, that we of this day may enjoy the blessings of the results of such sturdy warfare, and may thus have weapons with which to fight successfully the battles of truth in our own day and generation.

In a general estimate of his life, there must first be recorded the evidence of a strong individual character, a bold, hardy spirit, able to give and take blows for what he deemed the right. In consequence of this, he frequently has been misunderstood by both his friends and enemies. This quality made it difficult for him to follow with zeal any party or creed. It was sufficient for him to ask his own consciousness what was right in the matter, and to act accordingly. Parties might change or hold to old doctrines; Robinson followed the iron course of conviction. If he hurt the party or made enemies, it was small matter

to him. What was right, what was just in the case, were his criterions for action. Possibly he could have made his life easier, possibly there were times when he could have accomplished more by being more flexible and more politic, but he would not have been true to his conviction, and that was law to him.

Yet Robinson had a kindly heart and nature. He was ever ready and willing to help the needy, and very many owe their preservation or advancement to the helping hand of Governor Robinson. There came from him a heartfelt sympathy for all who were oppressed, and there was aroused a fighting capacity at once against the oppressor. He had a religion all his own, which was of pure nature, of a practical sort. He believed little in creeds, ceremonies, churches or ministers as saving functions, but he believed in a Creator and Father, who answered the call from the depths of his nature, as a soul crying out for strength in its loneliness. If he supported not vigorously the outward forms of Christianity, he practiced his best life in standing for truth, justice and right living. There is hardly a church in Lawrence for which he did not contribute money or material. He believed that there was good in all, and that each was especially good for some people.

It is interesting to note the various opinions of people of all classes respecting the life and service of Robinson. Of course there are his political and personal enemies who lose no opportunity to revile him. He had his faults, and they seized upon these and enlarged or willfully prevaricated. But those who knew him best and who love

justice are always ready to give him well-deserved praise and credit for all that he did.

There was a writer for the New York *Herald* named Brewerton, a non-partisan who visited Kansas in December, 1855, and January, 1856, and subsequently published a book on the affairs of the Territory. The following extract gives in part a characteristic picture of the place Robinson filled in the Territory at that time:

“In Kansas politics, General Robinson was a member of the State Constitutional Convention, is chairman of the Free-State Executive Committee, and in addition to this holds the military rank of Major-General and Commander-in-Chief of the Kansas volunteers—as the Free-State army of Kansas style themselves. He may be regarded as the real head—the thinking one, I mean—and mainspring of the Free-State party; or, to speak more correctly, of all that party who are worth anything. We believe him to be a keen, shrewd, far-seeing man, who would permit nothing to stand in the way of the end which he desired to gain. He is moreover cool and determined, and appears to be endowed with immense firmness; we should call him a conservative man now; but conservative rather from policy than principle. He seems to have strong common-sense, and a good ordinary brain, but no brilliancy of talent. In fact, to sum up, we consider him the most dangerous enemy which the Pro-Slavery party have to encounter in Kansas.”

Elsewhere are given the testimonials of Eli Thayer and Amos A. Lawrence, which pay a substantial tribute to his managing ability in connection with the Emigrant Aid Company. Two or three later testimonials are worthy of consideration to those who value the opinions

of others. A remarkable tribute of his old enemy General Jo. O. Shelby, given soon after the death of Governor Robinson, is worthy of repetition. After giving an incident of the Wakarusa War, Shelby said:

"I saw Governor Robinson occasionally after that. We fought him, but he was as lovable a man as there ever was in this section of the country. He tried to prevent the war, but he always stood for the Union when it came to a showdown. He opposed radical men like Lane almost as much as he did the hot-headed fellows on our side. We knew what he was doing, and he never mistreated a Southern man who came into his hands. He was a man whom I shall always remember with admiration."

From an entirely different standpoint, Rev. Richard Cordley in an address delivered at the University said among other words of praise:

"When History comes to measure events by their importance, she will put the name of Charles Robinson high in the scales of diplomatic generalship. . . . The qualities which were so conspicuous in those turbulent times always characterized him in practical affairs. Men will differ as to his political career and as to the soundness of his speculative opinions. But as to the soundness of his judgment in practical emergencies there will be no difference of opinion to those who knew him. If any difficult thing were to be done, you could safely trust Robinson to do it."

But Governor Robinson was not perfect, nor did he ever pretend to be without faults and defects. He had his faults, which he knew and deplored and which his best friends knew and deplored. He was a strong individual-

ist, of somewhat turbulent nature, largely under control of a strong will. He was willing to assume responsibility and submit to the consequences. A favorite motto was, "Suffer and grow strong." Nor did he fear to stand alone in the pursuit of a course which his best judgment directed him to follow. In the general acceptance of the word he was not a partisan. He never submitted his private convictions of right or wrong to what is usually termed party success. While in a larger sense he was an excessively social man, in working for the good of humanity and seeking the highest social well-being he found it difficult to bind himself to any clique or party, or to strike hands with his fellows to stand by any proposition or party. He preferred to await the coming issue and depend on his own best judgment to do the right thing. He was especially interested in the so-called "common people." He early formed the habit of taking the part of the oppressed, and so strong was this motive that he always assumed that if a man was down his cause was just. His best friends frequently felt that his individualism was too strong for comfort. One of his admiring friends said to him one day, "Why don't you behave yourself and let us love you, for we want to?" Governor Robinson responded with a quiet laugh, and that was all. This was in the latter days, when he had become estranged from the Republican party. Perhaps in leaving the Republican party after it had given him offices of trust was the worst grievance the friends of Governor Robinson had against him. Yet when we consider his nature, it was the normal outcome of his life. He believed in "money for the people" and in Government measures for the relief of the people.

He felt that the Government had been legislating too much in favor of the rich and too little in favor of the poor. While we cannot agree with all of his social, economic and political theories, he was right in his fundamental principles. He had a wide sympathy with the laboring classes, and a strong fellow-feeling for the farming classes when they suffered so much from over-borrowing and short crops and falling prices. He left the Republican party and became a Democrat; he never admitted that he was a Populist, but the time came when the two parties were peculiarly mixed in Kansas and the terms were almost synonymous. His theory was, that if a party would not do what the individual thought was right, he should drop it and take up with one which came more nearly doing this.

As a writer he was a strong controversialist, and could present all the salient points of his side of the case to the confusion and detriment of his opponents. In following the John Brown and the James H. Lane controversies, one will be convinced of the power of his logic and the incisive thrusts of his pen. There can be no doubt that he had cause to wield the pen with vigor in each of these controversies. He never trusted Brown, and thought he could not be of much service to Kansas. Yet he was willing to give him credit for what he attempted to do in the defense of the settlers. But when the nature of the revolting crimes on the Pottawatomie became known, Robinson could no longer submit to the indiscriminate praise of the hero-worshippers and the myth-makers, and so he opened the vials of indignation and poured out a stream of logic and invective against the perverters of historical

truth. Brown's policy in Kansas was diametrically opposed to that of Robinson in the early struggle, and when transcendentalism attempted to write history after the manner of its inner consciousness it was too much for a man with a practical turn of mind, and so he proceeded to puncture a few inflated historical theories. How well he did it there is not room to discuss here, but it is on record. Perhaps in his vigorous way he was carried on by the momentum of righteous indignation until he passed beyond the limit of historical proportion.

No man ever lived who had greater cause for indignation against the treatment of a fellow-man than had Governor Robinson against James H. Lane, and it is not to be wondered at that when the friends of Lane pushed his deeds vigorously to the front, Robinson should take up the scalpel and wield it unmercifully. While here as elsewhere there is danger of personal bias warping history as it engages in argument and controversy, yet Governor Robinson has rendered great service to history in boldly and clearly presenting his side of the questions involved by the careers of Brown and Lane. The "Kansas Conflict" will always prove a thorn in the flesh of those who attempt to gloss over history or give undue homage to idols. It is certainly iconoclastic, and no one yet has succeeded in breaking down the argument therein presented. There is a harsh note of controversy in this book, which, although it was necessary to the task of the writer, would be softened and harmonized in the light of perfect history.

In his last term as regent of the University, especially in the last two years of his life, he was decidedly against

the policy pursued in the institution. He seemed to be thinking of the old style of college as a type rather than of the new university, which is a growth of the past fifty years, and practically within the last fifteen years. He disagreed with his old-time friend Chancellor Snow, and felt that he was out of harmony with the methods of the University. Whether this was caused by listening to poor advisers, or whether he had reached the age when "fear cometh" and confidence or faith in institutions and men fails, it is difficult to determine. After a careful consideration of the case, it appears that his judgment was warped in reference to the condition and needs of the University. But while our criticism falls lightly upon one who had done so much for the University, even it is overwhelmed with the magnanimity of the man in leaving the greater part of his fortune to the institution, the cherished idol of his life and a monument to his greatness. Some day no doubt there will rise on the top of Mt. Oread a magnificent structure of stone and iron bearing the name of Robinson, and a worthy monument commemorating his life and service to the State of Kansas, reminding the generations to come of the great part he bore in the building of the commonwealth.

From his earliest life he was a strong temperance man, and temperance advocate, but in his later years he bitterly opposed the prohibitory law in Kansas, because he believed it to be non-effective. Once settled in his own mind that it was a sham, he could not tolerate it, for he hated all shams. It seemed, too, to oppose freedom, or liberty of action,—and he loved freedom, for he was able to stand upright and alone on the right. While the writer may not

agree with his judgment in the question, his motives were pure. He held, quite properly, that, as an ideal, temperance is a greater virtue than total abstinence. Many men of excellent judgment and sterling character, while they deplored the conclusion, likewise considered the prohibitory law a sham and demoralizer to society. It is still an unsettled question, for men will continue to differ as to the best methods that may be employed in waging a perpetual warfare against the evils of intemperance.

Governor Robinson was generous in helping any good cause. No deserving man ever went to him in distress without receiving aid. Believing that every man should have a chance for his life and prosperity in the industrial struggle, many were given quiet personal aid, and afterward lived to call him blessed. As hero after hero of those who stood shoulder to shoulder in the great struggle to build a commonwealth in Kansas passes away, leaving the burdens of civilization to be borne by others, leaving others to enjoy the advantages of previous struggles and to accept with them the responsibilities that accompany them, we who are left behind look into the places whence they departed, marveling at their lives, or stand gazing to heaven, crying, "My Father, my Father, the chariot of Israel and the horsemen thereof!"—wondering at the mystery of the providence of God.

At the age of seventy-six years, on Friday, August 17th, 1894, at 3:15 A. M., just as the shadow of the night heralded the approach of day, Governor Robinson passed into the unknown. On Sunday, August 19th, four ex-Govern-

ors of the State, and many prominent men and officials, came to pay their last tribute with old-time friends and neighbors to him who, so powerful in life, now lay helpless in death. The funeral sermon was preached by the Rev. C. G. Howland, a venerable and lovable man, since gone to his rest, who closed with these fitting words:

“Much of Governor Robinson’s life was tempestuous, but the close was as gentle as the fading light of day. With a tender but speechless touch of a dear hand, and without the slightest concern, he went out to meet what the future hath of marvel or surprise.”

Governor Robinson had a full life, and the attempt to give it in a short space is not without its dangers, for only the most salient parts can be presented. The minor details would reveal much of merit and power which cannot be portrayed in this brief sketch, where only the most important features are set forth. The course of his life was strong and the record of it is substantial. Some men move about quickening everybody with their ready sympathy, influencing with the subtile power of their genius, carrying the sunshine of their natures to the heart or impressing with their bold dashes at life. While those who know Robinson best have felt the kindly touches of his warm nature hidden frequently beneath a stern exterior, yet he appears best as a builder of institutions and as a defender of men. If in his later years he stood much alone, it was as if some tall peak were reared against the vaulted sky that needed no support of the range beneath. And if in those days he had not the sympathy and love of all, he commanded universal admiration.

**SELECTIONS FROM THE WRITINGS
AND ADDRESSES OF
CHARLES ROBINSON**

It is deemed advisable to publish a few extracts of the public documents, speeches, and writings of Governor Robinson, believing that his life services and character are well represented in this way. They will serve to enforce and substantiate what has already been said in the text.

SELECTIONS.

SPEECH OF GEN. CHARLES ROBINSON.

DELIVERED AT THE CLOSE OF THE "WAKARUSA WAR."

[From the Herald of Freedom, December 15, 1855.]

FELLOW-SOLDIERS: In consequence of a "misunderstanding" on the part of the Executive of this Territory, the people of this vicinity have been menaced by a foreign foe, and our lives and property threatened with destruction. The citizens, guilty of no crime, rallied for the defense of their families, their property, and their lives, and from all parts of the Territory the true patriots came up, resolved to perish in the defense of their most sacred rights, rather than submit to foreign dictation. Lawrence and her citizens were the first to be sacrificed, and most nobly have her neighbors come to her rescue. The moral strength of our position was such that even the "gates of hell" could not prevail against us, much less a foreign mob, and we gained a bloodless victory. Literally may it be said of our citizens, "They came, they saw, they conquered."

Selected as your commander, it becomes my cheerful duty to tender to you, fellow-soldiers, the meed of praise so justly your due. Never did true men unite in a holier cause, and never did true bravery appear more conspicuous, than in the ranks of our little army. Death before dishonor was visible in every countenance, and felt by every heart. Bloodless thought the contest has been, there are not wanting instances of heroism worthy of a more chivalric

age. To the experience, skill and perseverance of the gallant General Lane all credit is due, for the thorough discipline of our forces, and the complete and extensive preparations for defense. His services cannot be over-rated; and long may he live to wear the laurels so bravely won. Others are worthy of special praise for distinguished services, and all, both officers and privates, are entitled to the deepest gratitude of the people.

In behalf of the citizens of Lawrence, in behalf of the ladies of Lawrence, in behalf of the children of Lawrence, in behalf of your fellow-soldiers of Lawrence, and in my own behalf, I thank you of the neighboring settlements for your prompt and manly response to our call for aid, and pledge you a like response to your signals of distress. The citizens who have left their homes to come to our assistance have suffered great privations and many discomforts and expenses, while the citizens of Lawrence have incurred heavy expenses; but all has been submitted to without a murmur, and in a spirit worthy of a people engaged in a high and holy cause.

The war is ended, our duties are discharged, and it only remains for me, with the warmest affection for every soldier in this conflict, to bid you adieu, and dismiss you, to go again to the bosoms of your families.

EXTRACTS FROM ORATION

DELIVERED AT LAWRENCE, KANSAS TERRITORY, JULY 4, 1855.

This day, the seventy-ninth anniversary of the Declaration of American Independence, finds us in a new and strange country and surrounded by circumstances inter-

esting and peculiar. While the echoes of the booming cannon are reverberating among our native hills, and the merry peals of the church-going bells are announcing to the world the rejoicings of a great and prosperous people, that *their* days of weakness, suffering and thralldom are past, we are here in a remote wilderness, to found a new State, and to plant anew the institutions of our patriotic ancestors. It is a day to us of peculiar significance. While we would pay a tribute of respect to that period which in the annals of this nation will ever be regarded as most sacred; while with one accord and one voice we worship in the Temple of Liberty, uncontaminated by party distinctions or sectional animosities, and unite in the endeavor to raise some fitting memento of a Nation's gratitude for the declarations of that day, the most glorious in the history of a mighty People, we should also gather lessons of instruction from the past by which to be guided in the erection of a new State in the heart of this great Republic.

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One lesson the history of our Government should teach us who have chosen Kansas for our home, and that is especially applicable to the instructions of this day, viz.: the more closely the principles of the Declaration of Independence are followed as the basis of Government, and the more universal they are made in their application, the more prosperous the Government and people.

As the people of Kansas Territory are to-day the subjects of a foreign State, as laws are now being imposed upon us by the citizens of Missouri, for the sole purpose of forcing upon this Territory the institution of Slavery,

I surely need make no apology for devoting the few moments allotted to me on this occasion, to an examination of the effects of this institution upon a State and people, whether politically, morally, or socially. I ask you not to-day to listen to arguments of Abolitionists, or for Abolitionism. I wish not to wage war upon Slavery or slaveholders in any State of this Union, or to interfere in any respect with our neighbors' affairs; but it is for ourselves, our families, our own institutions and our prosperity,—it is for Kansas, I ask your attention. Is it politic, is it for our moral, intellectual or pecuniary advancement to submit to the dictation of a foreign power in regard to our laws and institutions? This is the question that deeply interests us all, and for the consideration of which this day is most appropriate.

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Liberty, the goddess to whom this day is dedicated, showers upon her votaries peace and prosperity, intelligence and enterprise, morality and religion. The inspirer and guide of Washington and the patriot fathers, may she become the presiding genius of our own beautiful Kansas! Slavery—the opposite and antagonist of Liberty, the ruin of nations, the impoverisher of States, the demoralizer of communities, the curse of the world, and child of hell—may she go to her own place. On this day and this occasion we may speak freely, assured that no offense can be given by the strongest expressions in favor of Freedom, or in opposition to Slavery, as no one who is in favor of the latter can join in the celebration of this day. No person who does not “hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal; that they are

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endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, *liberty*, and the pursuit of happiness," can consistently participate in the festivities of this day. Nay, should we fail to speak in utter detestation of Slavery, and hurl defiance at the monster on this anniversary of Freedom's natal day, especially when the tyrant has already placed his foot upon our necks, why, the very stones would cry out.

Fellow-citizens, let us for a moment inquire *who* and *where* and *what* are we?

Who are we? Are we not free-born? Were not our mothers as well as our fathers of Anglo-Saxon blood? Was not the right to govern ourselves, to choose our own rulers, to make our own laws, guaranteed to us by the united voice of the United States?

Where are we? Are we not in the most beautiful country that human eye ever beheld? Is it not, for surface, soil and productions, worthy to be styled the garden of the world? A wilderness, yet already budding and blossoming like the rose? A new country, yet having the appearance, in its diversity of meadow and woodland, of hill and dale, of a land long inhabited, and most beautifully and tastefully laid out into parks and groves? With a mild and salubrious climate, a dry, pure atmosphere, must it not soon become the resort of the invalid from the consumptive East and the ends of the earth?

Our situation, geographically, is in the center of this republic, at the half-way station between the Atlantic and Pacific, the Gulf of Mexico and the British Possessions. The "Father of Waters" extends to us his great right arm and proffers the commerce of the world and a market

for all our productions; and the line of steam and telegraphic communication that is soon to encircle the globe will of course pass directly through our Territory, thus bringing to our very doors the commerce of China and the Indies.

What are we? *Subjects*, SLAVES of Missouri! We come to the celebration of this anniversary with our chains clanking about our limbs; we lift to heaven our manacled arms in supplication; proscribed, outlawed, denounced, we cannot so much as speak the name of Liberty except with prison-walls and halters looking us in the face. We must not only see black Slavery, the blight and curse of any people, planted in our midst, and against our wishes, but we must become slaves *ourselves*.

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Persons may teach that the Declaration of Independence was a lie; that tyranny and oppression, a thousand-fold more severe than that which our ancestors rose in rebellion against, are right; that marriage is a mockery; that the parent shall not have possession of his own child, nor the husband his wife; that education is a crime; that traffic in human beings, the bodies and souls of men, is a virtue;—all this may be taught with impunity in this boasted land of ours, and those who teach such things must be recognized as gentlemen and Christians. But to teach that all men are created equal, that they have an inalienable right to life and *liberty*; that oppression is a crime, and that education, religion and good morals are virtues,—this is not to be tolerated for a moment. Tar and feathers, the gallows and stake, await all persons who dare express a belief in such dangerous doctrines, if we can believe our

masters. *Masters*, did I say? Heaven forbid! Subjects? slaves? Oh, no! It is all a mistake. What! the whisky-drinking, profane, blasphemous, degrading, foul-mouthed and contemptible rabble that invaded our Territory at the late elections, our masters? Never! never! I can say to Death, Be thou my master,—and to the grave, Be thou my prison-house; but acknowledge such creatures my masters, never! No, thank God, we are yet free, and hurl defiance at those who would make us slaves.

“Look on who will in apathy, and stifle, they who can,
The sympathies, the hopes, the words, that make man truly man;
Let those whose hearts are dungeoned up with interest or with ease,
Consent to hear with quiet pulse of loathsome deeds like these!
We first drew in New England’s air, and from her hardy breast
Sucked in the tyrant-hating milk that will not let us rest;
And if our words seem treason to the dullard and the tame,
’Tis but our native dialect,—our fathers spake the same.”

With truth and justice on our side, we have nothing to fear, for—

“Thrice is he armed who hath his quarrel just,
And he but naked, though locked up in steel,
Whose conscience with injustice is corrupted.”

Whose conscience with injustice is corrupted, if not his who withholds from the laborer his due, who makes merchandise of men, women and children, who sunders family ties, sending the husband perhaps to the cane-fields of Mississippi, the wife to a New Orleans brothel, and the children to the rice-swamps of Alabama, never to see each other again, and all to spend their lives amid whips and chains? Is it not “confirmation strong as Holy Writ” that their conscience is corrupted, when such men “repel the doctrine” that such proceedings are wrong, either mor-

ally or politically? when they "hurl back with scorn" the charge that conduct like this can be inhuman? Perhaps it is not inhuman, if they are fair samples of humanity, but it is certainly un-beastlike.

And who are the cowards in this contest, if not those who shun investigation, tremble at free discussion or even the expression of an opinion, who cry out, "Down with the press, down with the church, and down with every man who disapproves of oppression"? And what acts are cowardly, if it is brave and manly for scores of men, maddened with whisky, to prowl about in the dark and destroy the defenseless, to seize peaceable and unarmed citizens, to tar and feather them, to throw printing-presses into the river, and threaten to shoot governors and hang editors, and especially to march upon a weak and defenseless people by thousands, armed with deadly weapons of all kinds, the most deadly of which is whisky, and trample under their feet the dearest rights of freemen, imposing upon a neighboring Territory a foreign government and laws not of their choice, at the point of the bayonet? If such acts are brave and heroic, what are cowardly and villainous?

What reason is given for the cowardly invasion of our rights by our neighbors? No good reason is or can be given. They and their apologists say that if Kansas is allowed to be free, the institution of slavery in their own State will be in danger; that the contrast between a free and a slave State will be so great that their own citizens will become abolitionists, or the underground railroad will relieve them of their slaves. But for the first cause there is no danger of alarm, if their doctrine is

correct that slavery is a blessing, and not a moral or political evil. If it is the *humane* institution they represent, who will want to see it abolished? As to the second cause, there is no ground to fear, provided the people of Missouri mind their own affairs and let ours alone, for it is not true that the settlers in Kansas have enticed away a single negro, or attempted to do so. On this point we speak by authority, for do not the Westport and other Missouri papers say that the general agency of this line of travel is under our charge, and did those papers ever tell an untruth? We say, then, *officially*, that up to the present time not the first rail has been laid of this road in Kansas; but the workmen are in readiness, and will commence operations with a will if our affairs are again interfered with by foreign intruders. If the people of Missouri make it necessary, by their unlawful course, for us to establish freedom in that State in order to enjoy the liberty of governing ourselves in Kansas, then let that be the issue. If Kansas and the whole North must be enslaved or Missouri become free, then let her be made free. Aye, and if to be free ourselves slavery must be abolished in the whole country, then let us accept that issue. If black slavery in a part of the States is incompatible with white freedom in any State, then let black slavery be banished from all. As men espousing the principles of the Declaration of the fathers, we can do nothing less than accept these issues. Not that we are unfriendly to the South—far from it. If there be any true friend of the South in this assembly, to him we say that our love to the South is no less than his. If, then, such friend demand why we are ready to accept this issue, this is our answer: Not that we love the South less,

but we love our country more. "Had you rather Cæsar were living, and die all slaves, than that Cæsar were dead, to live all freemen?" "Who is here so base that would be a bondman? If any, speak, for him have I offended."

Fellow-citizens, in conclusion, it is for us to choose for ourselves, and for those who shall come after us, what institutions shall bless or curse our beautiful Kansas. Shall we have freedom for all her people, and consequent prosperity, or slavery for a part, with the blight and mildew inseparable from it? Choose ye this day which you will serve, *Slavery* or *Freedom*, and then be true to your choice. If Slavery is best for Kansas, then choose it, but if *Liberty*, then choose that.

Let every man stand in his place, and acquit himself like a man who knows his rights, and knowing, dares maintain them. Let us repudiate all laws enacted by foreign legislative bodies, or dictated by Judge Lynch over the way. Tyrants are tyrants and tyranny is tyranny, whether under the garb of law or in opposition to it. So thought and so acted our ancestors, and so let us think and act. We are not alone in this contest. The entire nation is agitated upon the question of our rights. The spirit of '76 is breathing upon some, the handwriting upon the wall is being discerned by others, while the remainder the gods are evidently preparing for destruction.

Every pulsation in Kansas vibrates to the remotest artery of the body politic, and I seem to hear the millions of freemen and the millions of bondmen in our land, the millions of the oppressed in other lands, the patriots and philanthropists of all countries, the spirits of the Revolu-

tionary heroes, and the voice of God—all saying to the people of Kansas, “Do your duty!”

EXTRACT FROM THE ORATION DELIVERED AT THE BURIAL OF BARBER.

The occasion which calls us together is one of deep interest and peculiar significance to every patriot and republican.

Our Territory has been repeatedly invaded, and our dearest rights trampled upon, by the citizens of a foreign State. They have taken possession of our ballot-boxes, and by force of arms have wrested from us the right to make our own laws and choose our own rulers, and imposed upon us a system of laws uncongenial to our natures and wants. Having accomplished all this by invasion and outrage, it was but natural to suppose that invasion and outrage would be necessary to enforce their enactments. “Misunderstanding” the facts and the temper of the people as well as their tactics, the Executive recently gave the signal for another invasion, and the armed hordes responded. Our citizens have been besieged, robbed, insulted, and murdered; and our town threatened with destruction for two whole weeks, by the authority of the Executive, and, as he now says, in consequence of a “misunderstanding.”

A misunderstanding on the part of our Executive is a most unfortunate affair.

Our Governor having been told that the people of Kansas did not recognize the laws of Missouri, and were determined these laws should be a dead letter in the Territory,

unwittingly fell into the error of supposing the people would array themselves against the Government of the United States, evidently not understanding how a code of enactments can be effectually resisted and no law violated. Had he carefully read the early history of his country, he might have understood the "Sons of Liberty" better than to suppose any United States law would be violated by the people, or, if violated, that the community would be guilty of violating it.

By whose act do the remains of the lamented Thomas Barber now await interment at our hands? By whose hand is his wife made a widow? By whose instrumentality are we made to mourn the untimely fall of a brave comrade and worthy citizen?

Report says Thomas Barber was murdered in cold blood by an officer or officers of the Government, who was a member of the sheriff's posse, which was commanded by the Governor, who is backed by the President of the United States.

Was Thomas Barber murdered?

Then are the men who killed him, and the officials by whose authority they acted, his murderers. And if the laws are to be enforced, then will the Indian Agent, the Governor, and the President be convicted of, and punished for, murder? There is work enough for the "law-and-order" men to do, and let us hear no more about resistance to the laws till this work is done. If all Missouri must be aroused and the whole nation convulsed to serve a peace warrant on an unoffending citizen, may we not expect some slight effort will be made to bring these capital offend-

ers to justice? Or are our laws made for the low, and not the high,—for the poor, and not the rich?

For the dead we need not mourn. He fell a martyr to principle; and his blood will nourish the tree of liberty. An honorable death is preferable to a dishonorable and inglorious life. Such was the death of our brother, and as such he will ever be cherished by his companions and fellow-citizens. It is glory enough for any man that a body of men like the Barber Guards should adopt his name to designate and distinguish their company.

To his beloved and bereaved wife, to his brothers and relatives, to the members of his company, to all who have pledged property, honor, and life to the cause of freedom and humanity, I seem to hear the spirit of our departed brother say: "Be of good cheer; weep not for me; you are engaged in a good work, and your reward will be glorious. Death is no misfortune to the true; indeed, it is sweet to die in defense of liberty."

But the shock produced by the murder of our friend is felt beyond the circle of his immediate relations and friends. It has shaken the entire fabric of our Government to its very base, and nothing but the unseen hand of the All-Wise Governor of the Universe could have saved this nation from civil war and political death.

It is due to the bold stand taken by the freemen of Kansas during the late invasion that the sun of Liberty is still above the horizon; and cold indeed must be his heart, wherever found, that does not beat in unison with ours as we pay our last tribute of respect to the remains of our brother!

Can the people of this nation approve the

“Costly mockery of piling stone on stone ?

To those who won our liberty, the heroes dead and gone,
While we look coldly on, and see law-shielded ruffians slay
The men who fain would win their own, the heroes of to-day ?”

No!

“Be callous as they will,
From soul to soul, o’er all the world,
Leaps one electric thrill.”

SELECTIONS FROM THE FIRST MESSAGE TO THE FIRST FREE-STATE LEGISLATURE, MARCH 4TH, 1856.

The organization of a new government is always attended with more or less difficulty, and should, under the most favorable circumstances, enlist the learning, judgment and prudence of the wisest men in all its departments. The most skillful workmanship is requisite, that each part of the complicated machinery may be adapted to its fellow, and that a harmonious whole, without jar or blemish, may be the result. In Kansas especially, is this a most delicate and difficult task. Our citizens are from every State in the Union, and from nearly every country on the globe, and their institutions, religion, education, habits and tastes are as various as their origin. Also in our midst are several independent nations, and on our borders, both west and east, are outside invaders.

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The reasons why the Territorial Government should be suspended and Kansas admitted into the Union as a State, are various.

In the first place, it is not a government of the people. The executive and judicial officers are imposed upon the people by a distant power, and the officers thus imposed are foreign to our soil, and are accountable, not to the people, but to an executive two thousand miles distant. American citizens have for a long time been accustomed to govern themselves, and to have a voice in the choice of their officers; but, in the Territorial Government, they not only have no voice in choosing some of their officers, but are deprived of a vote for the officers who appoint them.

Again: governments are instituted for the good and protection of the governed; but the Territorial Government of Kansas has been and still is an instrument of oppression and tyranny unequalled in the history of our republic. The only officers that attempted to administer the laws impartially have been removed, and persons substituted who have aided in our subjugation. Such has been the conduct of the officers and the people of a neighboring State, either intentionally or otherwise, that Kansas to-day is without a single law enacted by the people of the Territory. Not a man in the country will attempt to deny that every election had under the Territorial Government was carried by armed invaders from an adjoining State, and for the purpose of enacting laws in opposition to the known wishes of the people.

The Territorial Government should be withdrawn, because it is inoperative. The officers of the law permit all manner of outrages and crimes to be perpetrated by the invaders and their friends with impunity, while the citizens proper are naturally law-abiding and order-loving,

disposed rather to suffer than do wrong. Several of the most aggravated murders on record have been committed, but as long as the murderers are on the side of the oppressors, no notice is taken of them. Not one of the whole number has been brought to justice, and not one will be, by the Territorial officers. While the marauders are thus in open violation of all law, nine-tenths of the people scorn to recognize as law the enactments of a foreign body of men, and would sooner lose their right arm than bring action in one of their misnamed courts. Americans can suffer death, but not dishonor; and sooner than the people will consent to recognize the edicts of lawless invaders as laws, their blood will mingle with the waters of the Kansas, and this Union will be rolled together in civil strife.

Not only is this Territorial Government the instrument of oppression and subjugation of the people, but under it there is no hope of relief. The organic act permits the Legislature to prescribe the qualification of voters, and the so-called Legislature has provided that no man shall vote in any election who will not bow the knee to the dark image of slavery, and appointed officers for the term of four years to see that this provision is carried out. Thus nine-tenths of the citizens are disfranchised and debarred from acting under the Territorial Government if they would.

Even if allowed to vote, the chief executive of the country says that he has no power to protect the ballot-box from invaders, and if the people organize to protect themselves, his appointees intimate that they must be disarmed and put down; hence, whether allowed to vote or

not, there is no opportunity for the people of the Territory to rule under the present Territorial Government. Indeed, the laws are so made and construed that the citizens of a neighboring State are legal voters in Kansas, and of course no United States force can be brought against them. They are by law entitled to invade us and control our elections.

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Whereas, the Territorial Government, as now constituted for Kansas, has proved a failure—squatter sovereignty under its workings a miserable delusion—in proof of which it is only necessary to refer to our past history, and our present deplorable condition;—our ballot-boxes have been taken possession of by bands of armed men from foreign States, and our people forcibly driven therefrom; persons attempted to be foisted upon us as members of a so-called Legislature, unacquainted with our wants, and hostile to our best interests, some of them never residents of our Territory; misnamed *laws* passed, and now attempted to be enforced by the aid of citizens of foreign States, of the most oppressive, tyrannical, and insulting character; the right of suffrage taken from us; debarred from the privilege of a voice in the election of even the most insignificant officers; the right of free speech stifled; the muzzling of the press attempted;—and whereas, longer forbearance with such oppression has ceased to be a virtue; and whereas, the people of this country have heretofore exercised the right of changing their form of government when it became oppressive, and have at all times conceded this right to the people in this and all other governments; and whereas, a Territorial form of

government is unknown to the constitution, and is the mere creature of necessity, awaiting the action of the people; and whereas, the debasing character of the slavery which now involves us impels us to action, and leaves us the only legal and peaceful alternative—the immediate establishment of a State government; and whereas, the organic act fails in pointing out the course to be adopted in an emergency like ours: therefore, you are requested to meet at your several precincts in said Territory hereinafter mentioned, on the second Tuesday of October next, it being the ninth day of said month, and then and there cast your ballots for members of a convention to meet at Topeka on the fourth Tuesday of October next, to form a constitution, adopt a bill of rights for the people of Kansas, and take all needful measures for organizing a State government preparatory to the admission of Kansas into the Union as a State.

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It is understood that the deputy marshal has private instructions to arrest the members of the Legislature and the State officers for treason, as soon as this address is received by you.

In such an event, of course, no resistance will be offered to the officer. Men who are ready to defend their own and their country's honor with their lives, can never object to a legal investigation into their actions, nor to suffer any punishment their conduct may merit. We should be unworthy the constituency we represent, did we shrink even from martyrdom on the scaffold, or at the stake, should duty require it. Should the blood of Collins and Dow, of Barber and Brown, be insufficient to

quench the thirst of the President and his accomplices, in the hollow mockery of "squatter sovereignty" they are practicing upon the people of Kansas, then more victims must be furnished. Let what will come, not a finger should be raised against the Federal authority, until there shall be no hope of relief but in revolution.

The task imposed upon us is a difficult one; but with mutual coöperation, and a firm reliance on His wisdom who makes "the wrath of man praise him," we may hope to inaugurate a government that shall not be unworthy of the country and the age in which we live.

EXTRACT FROM MESSAGE TO THE LEGISLATURE IN 1861.

The position of the Federal Executive is a trying one. The Government when assumed by him was rent in twain; the cry against coercion was heard in every quarter; his hands were tied, and he had neither men nor money, nor the authority to use either. While it is the duty of each loyal State to see that equal and exact justice is done to the citizens of every other State, it is equally its duty to sustain the Chief Executive of the Nation in defending the government from foes whether from within or from without, and Kansas, though last and least of the States in the Union, will ever be ready to answer the call of her country.

EXTRACTS FROM "THE KANSAS CONFLICT."

Several lessons may be learned from the conflict in Kansas, and the conduct of the War of the Rebellion in

the West, that may be of service to the oppressed, to philanthropists and statesmen.

It will be seen that the remedy for oppression in a republican government is not the overthrow of that government, but resistance of oppression within it. If a people with votes in their hands, with power to replace every official, from President to constable, cannot exercise that power for their relief from oppression, a forcible overthrow of the Government would leave them at the mercy of designing men, who would as readily control the new government as the one destroyed. A republican government is what the people make it, and if not what it should be, they only are to blame. The safety of such a government depends upon the education of the voters; and the remedy for injustice in any direction is exposure of the wrong and agitation for the right. Defensive opposition to wrong and oppression with prudence will succeed, while offensive opposition to the Government itself will fail. Amos A. Lawrence once said: "The Government may have many faults, but let it be assailed from any quarter and the whole people will rally for its defense." In resisting oppression no wrong or outrage must be committed by the oppressed. They depend for relief upon the sympathy or sense of justice of the people not directly interested; and so long as oppression only is resisted, this sympathy will be with the oppressed, but so soon as the oppressed or wronged turn oppressors and wrong innocent parties, all sympathy ceases.

The Free-State party of Kansas retained the sympathy of the North because it did nothing that could be called wrong in itself to any man, but acted strictly on the de-

fensive.—(Chapter XVIII, pp. 461, 462, "The Kansas Conflict.")

Here is the position taken by the Free-State men, designated by F. B. Sanborn as "dastards," and the position tried to be taken by the two "indispensable" heroes of that gentleman, and the reader can take his choice. It is not easy to conjecture what greater victory the Free-State men could gain, or what greater defeat the Pro-Slavery men could suffer, than to have 1,900 men march from forty to one hundred and fifty miles to serve a warrant issued by a justice of the peace, and then return, after cursing, swearing, shivering and freezing for two weeks, as they came, minus the whisky, without serving any process whatever, legal or otherwise. If a more brilliant victory has ever been gained, it has not been recorded. How many such defeats could the Administration afford in enforcing "popular sovereignty" where the people were to be left perfectly free to settle their institutions in their own way, subject only to the Constitution of the United States?

And what of the Free-State men called "dastards," who obeyed orders and suffered wrong without doing wrong? It is safe to say an equal number of men, with a more unflinching courage, both moral and physical, has not been seen since the days of the Revolution.

A coward can give blow for blow, eye for eye, and tooth for tooth, but it requires true courage to suffer wrong without retaliation that a great cause may be advanced. The Free-State men believed that every outrage inflicted strengthened their cause and correspondingly

weakened that of their opponents; that in their sufferings lay their strength. In this respect, the Wakarusa War, while causing great annoyance and suffering, had enlisted the sympathies and support of the civilized world.—(Chapter VIII, p. 209, "The Kansas Conflict.")

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Something of the nature of the conflict in Kansas may be learned from the characteristics of the contestants. Settlers from the North and East came from communities where person and property were protected by law, and the carrying of weapons for self-defense was unknown. Many had come to look even upon war among nations as a relic of barbarism. Not a few of the Kansas emigrants had imbibed something of the views and spirit of the non-resistant agitators, and were disposed to interpret the teachings of the Nazarene literally, to return good for evil, when one cheek should be smitten to turn the other to the smiter, and if compelled to part with their coats, to give their cloaks also. As a rule, the Free-State settlers were averse to a resort to physical force in the settlement of any conflict, much less a conflict purely moral and political.

These were some of the characteristics of the Northern settlers while at home, but they were found unsuited to a Southern and Western climate. It was found that the precepts of Christianity, including non-resistance, might work admirably where all were Christians and non-resistants, but it was also discovered that the devil would flee only when resisted, and that pearls were not suitable diet for all animals and on all occasions.

The South and Southwest were in many respects most

unlike the East and North. Where a large class was to be kept in servitude, nothing but physical force would avail. Hence deadly weapons and personal prowess were indispensable, and the man who would pass current as a gentleman must be prepared at all times to protect his person and his honor by force. Also in the new West, in the absence of the civil code, every man was a law unto himself and constituted in his own person judge, jury, and executioner. In such a community human life, instead of being sacred as in the North and East, was cheap, and could be sacrificed at any time to resent personal insult and to protect peculiar institutions, if not for sordid gain. At the same time the better class of the citizens of the South had a high sense of honor, and could not be excelled in any part of the country for civility, courtesy, hospitality, and business integrity.—(Chapter III, pp. 26, 27, "The Kansas Conflict.")

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